

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

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DIVORCE

Almost half of Canadian marriages are failing. The breakdown is forcing men and women to redefine the way they see themselves — and each other





A walk on the royal side

The sun shone, the bands played, and endless banquets turned the Britannia into a floating flower shop as Queen Elizabeth II ended her month-long tour. —Page 14



Challenge of the Greens

West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl's election victory was sweet, but the Green party's antinuclear stance may portend a sour sequel in the Bundestag. —Page 20

COVER

Coming to terms with divorce

For many Canadians last week's shocking revelation that the divorce rate has soared past 40 per cent touched a raw nerve. Is it one more sign of a fundamental and dangerous disavowal of traditional social values? Or is it evidence of a refreshing new honesty? More liberal divorce laws, expected this spring, will fuel the emotional debate. —Page 29

COVER PHOTOGRAPH BY ANDREW COOPER



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Confrontation at the top

The First Ministers' Conference on aboriginal rights in Ottawa may make lasting changes in native life if the political obstacles on the way can be overcome. —Page 46



Country cousins

From the Heart, a new showing of Canadian folk art which opened at the Glenbow Museum in Calgary last week, is full of whimsical treasures. —Page 62

For a free nation

Thank you, Pierre Trudeau, for the wonderful public image you are presenting to the free and free nations of the world. Needless to say, I was quite disturbed by the article on Belgium-Canadian relations (discussing a *Sherry* restaurant, Canada, March 7). Before the tiny, free Caribbean nation is a light to the darkest of terror and oppression. And now it finds itself about to be thrown to the wolves of the world. How can Canadians sit idly by and allow Belgium to be the sole torch of freedom for such an underprivileged nation? American-led Guatemala is about to devour Belize, but who cares? Belize is now struggling alone and apparently unbefriended to the world.

—ROBERT JOE
Burlington, Ont.

Nelles: no more innuendo

Every time of my being bothered with *see the Malinco* attributed to Ontario Attorney General Roy McMurtry in *Baby Deaths Without Answers* (Canada, March 7). Namely, that "while he did not want to reflect adversely on Nelles, it was notable that there had been no murders since her arrest." The chief law officer of the Crown in this province very obviously reflected adversely on Nelles in a way that greatly violated our system of justice. Such a remark is in contempt of the court that went so far as it possibly could to exonerate Nelles and exonerate the law officers who brought the charges in the first place. If McMurtry had the slightest



Trudeau, St. Lucia's Campbell: no help

est sense of the integrity that is supposed to accompany his office, he would know that he had no alternative but to resign.

—BRUCE R. MCDONALD
Ottawa

Chopping Carpenter's death

Why would you allow the Feb. 14 *Passage* on Karen Carpenter to be chopped by the adjective "spry"? It was an unnecessary insertion showing poor judgement. In my opinion, your magazine is bordering on trashy, so to state it more accurately, suffering from a lack of class.

—JOE REAFER
Port Sydney, Ont.

Bullieskies to Gillespie

In reference to your March 7 interview with Alan Gillespie (Private Thoughts on a Public Fight, Canada), I say that his statement "This research has put Canada in the forefront of litigation technology" is bullieskies! South Africa has been turning out two solid years.

—D. L. MALL
Perth, Ont.

Assass: a matter of shame

In response to your thought-provoking World article, *A British Foreigner in Assass* (March 7), I wish to bring to the attention of your readers the fact that more than 4,000 Muslim men, women and children were massacred by vicious mobs of Assamese Hindus, atrociously enough, in a country that boasts of being the world's largest secular democracy. It is a matter of great shame that the innocent victims were despoiled Muslim refugees from neighboring Bangladesh murdered by Hindus who vastly outnumber them. The largest democracy on earth must bring a halt to these atrocious crimes without further delay.

—ABDUL MALIK GHAMRAT
Newry Creek, Ont.

PASSAGES

DEEDS Donald Maclean, 66, one of the infamous group of British intellectuals who spent far too long in the Soviet Union and whose activities caused a furore in the British Secret Service when they were discovered in 1951, in Moscow, of course. The son of a Liberal party cabinet minister, Maclean met fellow spies Guy Burgess and Harold (Kim) Philby during their Cambridge University days in the 1930s. The Soviets recruited the man, who believed they represented the ideological magnet of a Communist revolution, through the services of anti-history Prof Sir Anthony Duff. Maclean went on to the British Foreign Office in 1944. One of his most damaging betrayals came in Washington between 1944 and 1948, when he was first secretary at the British Embassy and then joint secretary of the U.S.-British policy committee on economic development. In May of 1951, Maclean and Burgess learned that the British Secret Service was closing in on them. The two defected to Moscow (Philby followed in 1950), where Maclean worked at the Institute of World Economics and International Relations.

DEEDS Sir William Walton, 86, the immensely but petulant British composer who is renowned for such works as his 1934 oratorio *Belshazzar's Feast*, the opera *Troilus and Cressida* and two concertistic masterpieces, the *Crown Imperial* (1937), written for the coronation of King George VI and *Orb and Sceptre* (1953), for the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II, at his home on the Italian island of Ischia, of a heart attack.

DEEDS Faye Emerson, 65, a Broadway and film actress who was best known as the hostess of a number of early television shows and a poetess as *The Girl at the Secret of the Secret*, in *Magnum*, *Secret*. Emerson was married three times, once to broadcaster Keith Wandersman and once to Elliott Roosevelt, the son of former U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt.

DEEDS Soviet-born composer and conductor Igor Stravinsky, 70, writer of the cantata *The Flight of Icarus* (with French poet Jean Cocteau) and the ballet *Parade*. Lant, and conductor of symphony orchestras in Montreal, Paris, Boston and Madrid, after a heart attack, in an Antilles, French hospital.

DEEDS Gailip Bialik, 47, the Turkish ambassador to Belgrade, Yugoslavia, is hospitalized, after being shot by two gunmen as his car was travelling through the centre of the capital. Two Armenians, one seriously wounded by a security man were arrested.

"SOMETHING CALLS ME BACK ... TIME AND TIME AGAIN."

Pat Morrow is a climber-photographer. He was the second Canadian to reach the summit of Mt. Everest in October, 1982. His next trip to Yukon and Alaska will be his twelfth.



I've been to some of the most spectacular places in the world. But the region I keep going back to is Yukon and Alaska. There's a magic there. A feeling you really have to experience first-hand. Perhaps it's the challenge of trying to capture even a small part of that magic in my photographs that makes me return, to climb and explore the far reaches of that beautiful land. Maybe it's the sense of discovery in seeing the mountains, the wildlife, the beauty. Whatever the reason, each time I go back I'm welcomed warmly. And it feels like I'm coming home again.

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Handling bulk food

How long will it be before the non-sensationalists regarding the selling of bulk foods will be silenced (Bulk Food Handling, Joe Connor, *Conservative*, Feb. 14)? How much will it cost to price the many bulk-food outlets? And who is going to pay for the monitoring, staff training and new-fangled cuisines? The consensus, that's what I thought the whole point of bulk food dispensaries was to save money on our grocery bills. Bulk food is a backward step in food-handling.

—JIM MAYHEW
Mississauga, Ont.

Without a single scrap of evidence or fact, this article is used to condemn current bulk foods. Many countries have far better health track records than Canada's reject the high cost of over-packaged food and distribute a great amount of it in bulk. Can you imagine a warm French baguette or croissant packed in a plastic bag? Tim Sisk and Pat Stager would surely publish letters if they derived more of their attention to the harmful additives that are in our food. In passing, cigarettes are beautifully and hypocritically packaged, are they not?

—C. M. JONES
Belling, B.C.

Self-reliance in the North

University of Toronto graduate student Joyce Gould's claim that Will and Pat Stager "didn't seem to have a knowledge of the North as a proper appreciation of the environment is almost unbelievable" (*Survival or Thrift?* Canada, Feb. 14) I got to know the Stagers, who teach winter survival in Minnesota, during my ecological work on Ellesmere Island last summer. These people accomplished self-reliance and hardiness in a hostile environment more than almost anyone else I met in the Arctic. Will Stager and a male companion, in a remarkable achievement, travelled 1,300 km from Baker Lake to Resolute by dog sled, starting out in the middle of the controversial dark Arctic winter, across open and unknown territory lacking not only trees but well-defined landmarks, ending up in the high Arctic in early summer. If he does not have a knowledge of the North or an appreciation of the environment, then nobody does. Will and Pat Stager may have relied a little too heavily on friendly "services" in their travels in northern Canada but they did so with the same degree of confidence that many of us do when travelling in reasonable or dangerous parts of their country. At Ungava Camp 80 km northwest of Lake Hazen, Pat and Will made one of Canada's first and spiciest—sanctioned by government

and private expeditions since the early 1960s—to the same degree as did other rishors, including a party from Paria Canada, a group of men travelling under the auspices of the Canadian Armed Forces, our Royal Ontario Illusionary party, a group from the University of Sheffield and personnel from the Geological Service of Greenland and Canada. It would have been inconceivable and intolerant to deny the Stagers the use of these materials, particularly since they were travelling on foot with pack dogs, while the rest of us did in the packway way, in Twin Otters and Bell Rangers. The two university students were way off base in their judgment.

—PETER H. FORBES

Canada in Charge,
Department of Territories
Polarontology
Royal Ontario Museum,
Toronto

Playboy and pornography

I am writing in reference to a Canada article entitled *Should Choice For Porn* in the Jan. 31 issue. In that article there is a statement made by Don MacPherson, head of First Choice Pay TV, that I find rather presumptuous and insulting. MacPherson, in his bid to justify the desire of First Choice to run soft porn on weekend evenings, states that "Nobody considers Playboy pornography any more." I want to inform MacPherson and the readers of *Maclean's* that I object vehemently to his ignorant, all-inclusive statement. I do consider Playboy to be pornography. It degrades that which God intended should be beautiful and sacred in the bond of marriage.

—ROY WILLIAM J. ROBERTS,
Malabar

Finding and supporting a leader

Your editors, your reporters and the columnists you publish made errors in their analyses of the Progressive Conservative party following the Winnipeg annual meeting (*After Joe, What?* *Conservative*, Feb. 7). It is my belief that leadership convention, scheduled for June, is the best possible avenue for both the party and our country. For two years Joe Clark attempted to overcome dissent and install a sense of unity within the party. After two years of broken words he managed to increase his mandate among party members by 6.5 per cent. Had he attempted to soldier on as leader, almost one-third of party members would have continued in their opposition to him. In the best interests of the party, Clark made the magnificent gesture. From now until the middle of June, Canadians will be acquainted with the personalities, phi-

losophies and visions of the various leadership candidates. The principle of this activity—the leadership convention—will capture the interest of Canadians from across the country, whether they are party members or not. The key point, which has thus far been covered by your magazine, is that the PC party will emerge stronger, more united and better prepared to fight the Liberals and New Democrats in the next election. And regardless of who wins the leadership contest, party dissenters will have had one choice: support the leader or get out.

—CHRIS COLE, M.P.
North Vancouver-Burnaby

With regard to the article in your magazine about Joe Clark's wife, Maureen (*Joe Clark on Trial*, *Conservative*, Jan. 31), so many people, myself included, are thinking that it is a high time that she started to talk herself by her proper name—Mrs. Joe Clark! This would be of considerable advantage to Clark's political career, apart from the fact that it is the natural thing for a woman who loves a man sufficiently to marry him to take his name.

—RICHARD D. CORLENDON
Victoria

If the Progressive Conservatives are really serious about winning the next federal election, they must take care not to make the same mistake twice. Brian Mulroney, in my opinion, the answer to their dilemma. Mulroney would offer Canadians an attractive alternative to a long succession of Liberal governments. This man means what he says. He has charisma. He radiates under projects warlike, and his speeches are solid gold. He would be an asset not only to the Conservative party but to all Canadians.

—LUCIE BOPARVIA,
St. Louis, Mo.

Since the Western Phoenix has apparently dematerialized, The Iron Man's image has become somewhat rusty (and he has not bothered to try for a federal seat). They Perfect was not a full participant in the Winnipeg basketball (couldn't reach high enough) and The Easterner's bibliography is somewhat limited (*Stevie and English*). I suggest that the PCs agree to support as their leader Canada's only living ex-prime minister. The revolution is a waste of time. Moreover, I am concerned that the character assassination practised by the media are leading us closer to a one-party state.

—JIM POND
Nepesin, Ont.

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Wherever possible, supply names, addresses and telephone number. Send correspondence to: Letters in the *Western Phoenix*, c/o *Maclean's*, 110 University Ave., Toronto, Ont. M5S 1A7.

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A new Beirut enjoys its borrowed time



The clean-up operation: finally, people are crowding into fancy discotheques

The smiling face of Lebanon's President Amin Gemayel, painted on giant murals, peered on walls and taped on windows, looks down reassuringly from hundreds of buildings in East and West Beirut. The portland survey a scene that is stunningly different from one that existed only six months ago, when Beirut was a deserted shell, ravaged by war and terrorism. Now the Lebanese capital is a city that breathes life again. Beirutis who have not returned out for an evening since the 1975-76 civil war are crowding into fancy discotheques and paying \$20 for a bottle of Scotch that they could buy elsewhere for \$5. Restaurants are turning away more people each evening than they used to see in a week. Traffic police are handing out tickets without fear of being shot. On

Rosees, West Beirut's main shopping street, the current film attraction is *E.T. The Extra-Terrestrial*, and the store windows display the latest in French fashions. Beirut's revamped Martyr's Square, for years a no man's land of sniping and killing, is now accessible, although there are signs in some alleyways that warn about hidden land mines.

But for all of the relative serenity, there remains a darker side to the new Beirut. In the past two months the city has been hit by a new wave of turbulence. In February a car bomb rocked the centre of West Beirut, killing more than 20 people. Renewed fighting in the mountains east of the capital led Beirutis to fear that the violence might once again spread to their city. Remained Nicos Tabak, a 26-year-old Lebanese

journalist. "Beirut might be safer, closer, brighter now, but how can I enjoy it?"

Still, their apprehensions aside, Beirutis are enjoying a city more secure than it has been in years. Since last August, when the Israelis stopped shelling Beirut, thousands of Beirutis have returned, many for the first time since the civil war, to swell the city's population of about 1.2 million people (since the last census was taken in 1932, there are no official counts). The mood of residents is buoyant—most well-to-do Beirutis and many outsiders are leaving heavily in the new ravaged city. A Saudi construction has bought the unfinished, badly damaged Hilton hotel for \$200 million. A Gulf petrostate has taken over the bullet-scarred wreck of the once-elegant Phoenix Hotel for \$44 million. Beirut has not looked better since the days before the civil war, before the results of the city were devastated and divided into two snarling halves—the eastern half run by the Phalangist-led Lebanese forces and the western half controlled by the Palestinians and their Moslem allies.

Beirut's new freedom contrasts sharply with the city of last summer. Then, the streets of West Beirut were deserted after dark. Nightclubs were shuttered, abandoned to the rats that feasted on the mounds of garbage lining the streets. Girls wore shawls over their dresses to avoid the awkward stares of onlookers. Kidnapping, murder and rape were too commonplace to note more than a line or two in the newspapers. All too often, traffic disputes led to pitched battles that raged for hours. When Beirut's "Vegetable King" (the head of the vegetable sellers' union) was shot to death by a sniping machine, civil militiamen supporting the two warring factions fought an artillery battle that lasted for nine hours, and nearly a dozen people were killed.

After the Israeli invasion in June, with the hard core of West Beirut's fighting force evacuated, the Christian-offered Lebanese army entered the Moslem sector and destroyed the imprisoned militia Gemayel, 40, elected president last September to replace his assassinated brother, Bashir, pledged to restore national unity. In their civilian lives, people believed in him, and the reconstruction of West Beirut began. Armies of small boys, brooms in hand, swept the streets. When they had disposed of the garbage, they began cleaning up the dust. Lebanese businessmen and banks have donated more than \$7 million, 500 trucks and the labor of 700 workmen to the clean-up operation. The once-elegant waterfront, a ribbon of wreckage after three months of pounding by Israeli gunboats, was replenished with palm trees. Lucky Lake's, a stylish nightclub, once again kneel



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business and opened its doors for the first time since the civil war. Repair crews moved into the battered hospitals, and reconstruction began on schools and roads.

The spirit of Beirut, broken for so long, seemed Beirut even made light of the Israeli invasion. T-shirts carried slogans like I AM SURVIVOR from recent war-torn countries. Rashed Baji Hattam, a 36-year-old economist. "It has become a great city. The Beirutis, who previously were interested in only one thing—money—have acquired a certain amount of civic pride. Beirut has come back, and they are really in love with it."

Despite the influence of life and money, the new Beirut still has problems. It is now impossible to eat in the best restaurants without making reser-

vauds of people to the already long list of homeless. Asked Ali Sabri, a 33-year-old laborer who had to Beirut from the countryside in 1978 after fleeing invaded South Lebanon. "Where do we go? Twenty-four hours is not enough to find a house. They can have their land. All we need is time to find a house. I think I will go to the sea and push my children into the water. It will be better for them."

In the sprawling, depressed refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila, 25,000 Palestinians struggled to rebuild their lives despite the departure of many breadwinners. Although measures of the September massacre by Phalangists of more than 700 of their families and relatives were still vivid, the survivors valiantly colored the winter rains that turned their streets into rivers of mud.



Sabra refugee camp: people still keep Kalashnikov rifles under their beds

tions—and it is often impossible to do that because the telephones do not work. Waiters, overcome by the volume of restaurant patronage, have suddenly developed a tendency to snag. And prices are skyrocketing. Since many apartment buildings were destroyed, rents have doubled or even tripled. The monthly rent for a modest two-bedroom apartment rose to \$1,000 from \$750. The price of a big cup of Lebanese coffee has doubled to 50 cents.

An enjoyer of the new Beirut is for many people, for others the change has brought anxiety. It became clear that the rebuilding of the city was being carried out selectively, favoring the business community over the poor and the homeless victims of war. The government, in its eagerness to turn the clock back, with one day's notice bulldozed hundreds of illegal dwellings in the slum district of Ouzai, adding thou-

sands of people to the already long list of homeless. Asked Ali Sabri, a 33-year-old laborer who had to Beirut from the countryside in 1978 after fleeing invaded South Lebanon. "Where do we go? Twenty-four hours is not enough to find a house. They can have their land. All we need is time to find a house. I think I will go to the sea and push my children into the water. It will be better for them."

Indeed, living conditions for the most unfortunate Beirutis are far from favorable. But there is an air of hopefulness, an anticipation of better times to come. Still, the mood is transitory at best. The first dampening of optimism took place in January when Israeli soldiers lighting Christmas in the mountains east of the capital shelled East Beirut, moving forces that the sectarian violence of the mountains would once again engulf the city. With the Lebanese government barely resisting Israeli demands for a peace treaty and Israel vowing not to leave without such an acknowledgment, the capital seemed to be slipping back into its old pattern of violence—bombings, shootings and sieges.

In early February a massive car

bomb exploded in the heart of West Beirut outside the Palestine Research Centre, virtually all that was left of the Palestine Liberation Organization in Beirut. The explosion instantly shocked West Beirut, who, pacified by the Lebanese army and police by the multinational peacekeepers, had hoped that they might once again become the Paris of the Middle East. The blast left more than 30 people dead and more than 100 wounded. Scores of apartments were heavily damaged. Abu Farid, whose grocery store is located across from the research centre, had his tiny shop reduced to ruins for the third time in six months. "At least 45,000 Lebanese equivalent of \$4,000 in damage," he lamented, his work cut by flying metal and his merchandise destroyed. "We thought it would be all right with the Palestinians gone. But nothing ever changes. Nothing ever."

As a result, people are somewhat more reluctant to go out as freely as before. "The mood on the street is that there will be another big round in Beirut if the fighting in the mountains is not contained," explains Salah Dik, a West Beirut shopkeeper, gesturing to half-empty shelves. Fewer merchants are importing merchandise in recent weeks. Although it is quiet now, there is increasingly a feeling that the peace will not last and that the next round, if it comes, may never end. Sogasta Youssef Atiyeh, a 42-year-old businessman who experienced the golden years before the civil war broke into wretchedness. "There is a certain similarity with the months before 1975. I am not too optimistic. This peace may prove to be a mirage."

The past may be off the streets, but many are still in civilian hands. "Let us not feel ourselves," says a United Nations official based in Lebanon. "We cannot see them, but they are there. The army found the stockpiles in the basements but it did not find the Kalashnikovs (rifles) under the beds." Although the 34,000-man Lebanese army, supported by the 4,500-member multinational peacekeeping force, is funnelled out across the capital, there is considerable skepticism about its competence. Says an Western diplomat anonymously. "All 34,000 together could not pull the skin off a wolf peeing in a pit. Eighteen months? Maybe. Maybe not."

Clearly, there is an acknowledgment, even among the most hopeful, that the civility of the past few months could disappear again. Many Beirutis are convinced that Israel will never pull out, that Lebanon will never be fully restored. Says Rami Haddad, a 39-year-old student. "We Lebanese think that we are so clever, the cleverest in the Arab world. But we are so stupid. We never learn." Still, the process has clearly begun. ◇

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Andrew Young's Atlanta

When Andrew Young was elected mayor of Atlanta on Oct. 27, 1980, hardly anyone expected that, after a high-profile career as a congressman and as a U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, he would enthusiastically devote himself to the mundane chores of garbage pick-

ups and sewer systems. But after 13 months in office the flamboyant Young has proven himself to be surprisingly adept at big-city politics, although many of his decisions have been characteristically controversial.

Young, 51, Atlanta's second black mayor, lost no time in aggressively

tackling sensitive issues. He had been in office for less than six months when he endorsed a badly conceived plan to build a four-lane parkway through some of Atlanta's most historic (and black) neighborhoods to connect with the proposed Jimmy Carter presidential library. Young also raised the ire of his principally black constituency by supporting an increase in sales tax from four per cent to five. Opponents have attacked both his unhesitant favoritism at city hall toward his friends and his globe-trotting—Young has, so far, made four trips abroad. His critics also charge that his continued interest in Third World affairs is hindering his performance as mayor. Last December, Young endorsed, along with former U.S. attorney general Ramsey Clark, a senator for Central America and Cuba-



Young: a surprisingly popular mayor

bans political leaders that included a number of prominent liberals from Nicaragua and Cuba, which prompted growling by the city's conservative businessmen about "Communism and Socialists." For his part, the mayor argues that his presence at such gatherings helps to promote Atlanta as an international center for trade. Says Young: "Exporting is every city's future, and the cities that realize that are going to grow."

Despite his trials, Young, who has matured remarkably in proving far more popular than expected among Atlanta's white residents, especially among the wealthy whites who vehemently opposed his election. But if he is to seek re-election in 1985—and he hopes strongly that he will—he must rekindle his ties with the poor blacks who elected him. Notes councilman John Lewis: "I think there is a feeling [among blacks] that the mayor is leaning toward the business community." Still, the councilman is quick to add that "Andy is a very popular person." Young can only hope that his popularity endures until he faces the electorate in 1985.

—KIMOTH RUTLAND in Atlanta.



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Q&A: DAVID MORRIS

How to shore up our cities



Morris: looking at garbage as a nonrenewable resource, not as a burden

The current economic squeeze is forcing North American cities to cut back on municipal budgets, and some officials are increasingly looking at new ways to generate wealth. One method is to marry modern technology and political acumen, according to David Morris, the director of the Institute for Local Self-Reliance, a U.S. organization that advises cities to take more direct control over the resources they produce.

'It no longer makes sense to grow a tomato in California or Mexico and eat it in Ottawa'

and economy. The institute has met with considerable success since it opened in 1975. It has designed community-owned incineration/manufacturing plants, local heating systems and, in New York City, the first large-scale urban composting operation. Morris's Ottawa bureau under Jon Anderson spoke with Morris at his Washington, D.C., office.

Morris: We suggest that cities take a look at the resources that they may have locally. One might look at the garbage stream, for example, which cities do not usually see as a resource, but as a burden. We can realize that solid waste as a non-material resource in Nebraska, for example, communities said that they had, starting the composting, literally millions of acres of land that cost them a great deal to get rid of. Recycling tries to cut use, but it takes out that cost of the new raw are still behind regions which do not lead themselves to being recycled in the same way

that. We are talking about the most sophisticated forms of technology. To bring these things together, if a municipality looks at its balance of payments and says we want to reduce our imports, we want to use technologies to generate wealth locally and internally.

Morris: What makes your institute particularly relevant to today's dilemma?

Morris: What we are finding is that, on the one hand, there are cities desperate for new resources to meet their increased responsibilities. There is also a new generation of people who are enthusiastic about regarding a measure of control over their lives, about getting production back to where they live. And we have had so many shock that has encouraged us to reduce long distribution lines. It no longer makes sense to grow a tomato in California and eat it in Ottawa.

Morris: How can cities get about teaching themselves less dependent on outside resources?

Morris: We suggest that cities take a look at the resources that they may have locally. One might look at the garbage stream, for example, which cities do not usually see as a resource, but as a burden. We can realize that solid waste as a non-material resource in Nebraska, for example, communities said that they had, starting the composting, literally millions of acres of land that cost them a great deal to get rid of. Recycling tries to cut use, but it takes out that cost of the new raw are still behind regions which do not lead themselves to being recycled in the same way

Morris: What is so new about self-reliance?

Morris: The concept of self-reliance is an old one. It has always been considered philosophically attractive, it has just not been seen to be technologically practical or economically feasible. Now it is. We are talking here about harnessing modern technology. I want to stress



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Last year BMW wrote "Suddenly, \$36,000 doesn't seem so much." And did it ever strike a chord?

The \$36,000 headline led off an advertisement for the BMW 320i with the words "These days, when prices are so reasonable, \$36,000 for first-class is almost a bargain."

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as very old tires. So we located a small manufacturer that had developed a cryogenic (deep-freeze) process that takes the rubber and freezes it to the point at which it becomes very brittle and is easily pulverized into a powder. You take that powder and use it as a feedstock for making anything from shoes to road-paving material.

Moreover, the institute was set up to promote the technical feasibility and economics of cities generating a significant proportion of their wealth from local resources. The idea is that the local economy is looking at a city as a nation. This does not mean a self-sufficient entity, because no nation is self-sufficient. But we look at how cities can redefine their local resources base and maximize the value they get out of it. For example, a city like London has a gross value added of £1 billion collectively for all of its goods and services. Given budget cuts and resource problems, it is worrying that this city needs to keep as much of that capital within the local economy as possible. Today, only 10 per cent of the value added is retained for development and to the federal government for funding. In the future I can see cities reporting just 100 per cent of their needs but possibly only 25 per cent—and generating the rest internally.

More: There is now a very strong necessity for cities to look at new ways of doing things. For local officials there is the need to save money and pump health into the local economy. But from the citizen's point of view it is a measure of bringing production closer and closer to their homes. That is, making them more producers of wealth than just consumers of goods.

Mostre: We are going through a true crisis! Between centralization and decentralization, there are two metaphors. One is the global village, but the other is the global village. It is not clear which way we will go. A reversal of that [centralizing trend] will be one that comes from the bottom up, one in which we may, in fact, not want to spend a lot of money to build a very large power plant located 500 miles from my house. I prefer to spend the same amount of money to build 1,000 much smaller power plants located either in basements or at the end of each block. This requires a political redistribution. One of the positive aspects of the current downturn in the economy is that it provides us with a new opportunity to think. Five or ten years ago that might not have been given a fair hearing.

Maclean said: "Can you not argue that this

Morris: I am not arguing for self-reliance, but for self-reliance. The fact is that if you asked a rich neighborhood and a working-class neighborhood to move toward self-reliance, it would be the working-class neighborhood that would achieve it. It is not the rich ones that are moving in that direction, it is the cities with an industrial base.

For example, it is a small, industrial city with 35,000 people where they have a sewage plant that had not then about \$1 million a year to operate. Their municipal authority decided to transform the disposal facility into a production plant for methane gas. They had to build enough surface gas from their sewage sludge to operate the entire month-to-month volume flat. The cost, including everything, is between 20 and 30 cents a gallon. Hagerman is not stopping there. There is sludge storage, and sludge is not a waste product. It is a fertilizer. They go through a politically risky five-year period in which it got individual industries to get in pre-treatment plants so their sites to eliminate the heavy metals in the sludge. They now have a municipal-grade fertilizer coming out of it. Right now, the price of the Hagerman on the market, which would give them an okay price, they use it internally, one can get to get the maximum value from that product. So last April (they planted, on dry land, 200,000 hybrid poplar trees) they are going to harvest that in the world. In two years they will harvest them and convert them into gas or ethanol, so fast, and use the byproduct of that operation as animal feed. They expect to be able to support 100 head of cattle and hogs and sheep on the land. They are going to be an example of a self-sufficient

where in the West, certainly in Maine, Idaho and Saskatchewan, you have farmers who cause produce to be fed to cattle, and therefore the farmers are dependent upon only one kind of demand. The new era is bringing the possibility of turning not only agricultural products into fuel—ethanol and so on—but agricultural products into chemicals. Then you suddenly have the possibility of substituting starch for plastics. If you do that, then the processing plants will be located in those agricultural areas—why would you want to take all that volume and truck it

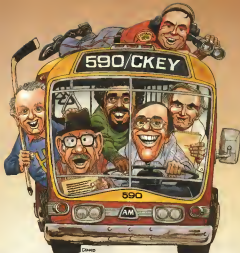
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Bob Rice
Traffic
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Jim Hunt
Sports at
7:30 & 8:35

COLUMN

Interrupting Ottawa's fantasies

By Dian Cohen

In these days of panic over whether collapsing oil prices will spell disaster for as all, we should appreciate the fact that lower energy prices will do more for the world's long-term economic health than any other single factor since the drop in natural prices last fall. The Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries cartel succeeded for nearly a decade in setting the price for crude oil. The stability of the rest of the world to deal with the effects of that price-setting cartel, in turn, inflation, depression, exploding inflation and the unraveling of the cartel itself. Canada, while an oil producer, has never been a price setter but rather a price payer. It is time for us to learn from some of the lessons of the past decade. Canada must renege the 1980 National Energy Program to deal with the new reality on energy prices.

The fact is that for the past 30 years the nations of the world, with few exceptions, have swallowed hook, line and sinker the mistaken notion of permanent energy shortages (sooner or later, accompanied by petroleum prices that can only rise. Although Canadian policymakers are slower moving than most, the NEP was a direct response to the mistaken belief that energy prices can only go up. Ottawa looked forward to \$15 billion in tax revenues by 1986—more than enough to displace not only the welfare state but the deficit itself. Ottawa, then Prime Minister and other oil companies looked forward to these higher prices to cover the billions of dollars borrowed short-sightedly to buy out other energy companies at obscenely inflated prices.

But there are fallacies in the "permanently rising prices" scenario, the first being that there is no such thing as a permanent shortage. The biggest problem monopolists have is in controlling the needs of the world for their product—this is now clear in the case of the oil cartel. In the marketplace there is no such thing as "scarcity." There is only effective demand—effective because the demanders can pay the price. But when the price gets too high, demand simply falls off, and the monopolists are left tripping over themselves in their scramble to find the "right" market-clearing quantity to produce at the "right" market-clearing price. This price has increased 60% for the past six

months in a series of meetings. Canadian energy policymakers are in the same boat as the failing OPEC representatives although, predictably, they seem not to recognize that fact. They still try to anticipate needs by setting prices. Canada charges the world price—\$16 (U.S.) per barrel—for what little oil it exports as subsidies. The price at home (Canadians currently pay about 75 per cent of the world price) But the Canadian government is also holding fast to its 1981 export price for natural gas—\$4.34 (U.S.) per thousand cubic feet—a price that is today so incredibly high that it can legitimately be called a mirage. The Americans, at that price, are now taking substantially less than half the volume of Canadian natural gas authorized for export by the National Energy Board.

Clearly, it is no longer possible for Canada to sell natural gas at yesterday's prices. There can be little doubt that a drop in the OPEC oil market price would do some good. In the first place, the lower price would enable Canada to sell more gas. Even at a substantially reduced price—say \$2.50 per thousand cubic feet—Canada could, over the next several years, earn several billion dollars more in revenue. Secondly, selling oil natural gas today, even at a substantially reduced price, makes as much sense economically than lowering the price in the ground for 20 years in return for the promise of a higher price. It is the bird in the hand being worth two in the bush. Money and security today can do a million things that energy in the ground cannot do. The revenue could, for example, help to develop different, more efficient, energy generating and producing plants and equipment. Since Canada is drowning in a sea of natural gas, the country would be far better off having access to the gas revenue now than it would be by leaving the resource in the ground, so as to pay for the future—when the oil may not even retain its current value.

'Canadian energy policymakers are in the same boat as the flailing OPEC ministers but do not seem to know it'

Thirdly, cheaper imported natural gas would certainly help the Americans, if only marginally, to keep general prices down. As they economy recovers proceeds, Canada will benefit not just in growing markets for natural gas but in growing markets for all of our goods and services.

Finally, according to Martin Adelman, a professor of economics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and a clarivoyant oil analyst (he predicted both the formation and the demise of the OPEC cartel years before he had either happened), lower Canadian export prices would not only generate higher sales in the United States but they would create a more favorable climate for investment in the development of new Canadian gas reserves. Says Adelman: "Until recently the cartel had to restrict exports to maintain prices. Saudi Arabia's operations only 15 out of 56 known fields. It drills half as many wells as it did in 1972. Venezuela has three trillion barrels in place in its Orinoco belt, of which practically none has been made into reserves. But," he adds, "at lower prices, the only sensible course for oil producers is to expand development in the known fields and initiate exploration in every promising region, of which there are several."

As for domestic oil prices, since Canada is now close to world prices, the easiest and least misperceived course would be to go to world prices. This would spare Canadian policymakers the futile effort of trying to predetermine market demand and would delight investors who could plan on the basis of the known world price. The OPEC countries will undoubtedly expand capacity in their attempts to prevent prices from falling. Canadians should be doing the same thing but will not because the NEP, which has put such horrendous restrictions on natural gas development, stands between us and more potential sources of energy. It is time to get rid of the constraints of the NEP and deal with today's reality: energy prices are on their way down, and, for the foreseeable future, energy levels as if it might become a market-determined commodity like any other. Surely Ottawa is smart enough to devise a policy sufficiently flexible to accommodate a real-life scenario in which prices can move both up—and down.

Dian Cohen is a Montreal-based economics writer.

A walk on the royal side

The "Queen's weather" finally caught up with the royal tour last week as Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Philip ended an arduous five-country, 36-day whirlwind tour with a three-day visit to British Columbia. The torrestial rain, which had turned red carpets soggy throughout the Queen's inaugural trip to California, was still showering the royal yacht Britannia when it properly eased into Victoria's inner harbor last Thursday. But the Queen's legendary power to dispel gloom was restored the next day in Vancouver.

Memories of Californian protesters and the grim lions of riot-gear-ed police, who out of ordinary Americans trying to catch a glimpse of a royal supervisor, were left behind at this third parallel. It was more like a honeymoon—the Queen was in British Columbia, and the first stop was Victoria, a city that collects tourist dollars each year with its carefully cultivated image of preserving a little bit of Britain. Macazines were everywhere throughout the town, not all of them in red coats and stiff hats. But the placid-looking ring of security police around the royal couple was much less obtrusive than in the United States, allowing the Queen and Prince Philip to walk among ordinary people as well as local dignitaries. In the United States slogans shouted by demonstrators who wanted Britain out of both the Falkland Islands and Northern Ireland were aimed at the Queen. In British Columbia the demonstrations were unaffiliated ones, and the only slogans heard here were "we were never there" or "we earned our money" determined to add their contributions of dollars and roses to the 15 official bouquets presented.

The Queen noticed. At a dinner hosted by Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau in Vancouver, she said that the flowers had turned the Britannia into "a floating flower shop."

During the brief tour the Queen and Prince Philip visited five cities in one day—Nanaimo, Vernon, Kamloops, Kelowna and New Westminster. As the monarch who reigns but does not rule, the Queen did her job as the host for 36 years. She smiled at the right times, waved, shook hands (three fingers only) and politely accepted such well-meaning gifts as five leather-bound volumes of the debates of the legislatures of Vancouver Island and British Columbia, 1861-1971.

Politicians took full advantage of their opportunity to reflect in the glory of the royal presence. Trudeau included a plug for the federal Six-and-Five cent program in his toast to the Queen. At a hockey ceremony at B.C. Place, Premier William Bennett was effusive in his boast of prevailing over the province with "Canada's only domed stadium." The Queen was pressed into service to move the world to B.C. 86, a world transportation fair to be held in Vancouver—an event that will mean jobs and business for the province, as Bennett noted. The premier's remarks sounded remarkably like the opening shots in an election campaign which could be held this spring. If that was the case, the politics of the event were oversold by the 30,000 people filling the glitzy and almost completed stadium. They, like the thousands of others throughout the Americas, were there for only one reason: to see the Queen. —MALCOLM GALT in Vancouver



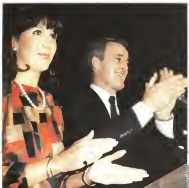
The flowers from the children here have been especially loving," the Queen said after seeing youngsters dress their symbols of spring into the monarch's parade at every stop. Neither police nor precautions could hold them back, as New Westminister girl guides offered their welcomes.

The Queen spent her first evening in Canada at a lavish state dinner at Vancouver's Rayburn Hotel. After a meal of smoked salmon, prime rib and Okanagan peaches, she hailed Canada's determination to fight to restore economic growth. Then, after just 8 1/2 hours of sleep, she bade Canada a fond farewell.

The royal yacht Britannia, with a crew of 250 and an annual operating cost of more than \$2 million, acted as a floating hotel for the royal couple on their month-long tour. Docked in Vancouver harbor, it is on the friendly West Coast skids, symbolizing the glitter and gaiety of the Queen's three-day Canadian visit.

Come to the fair, the Queen urged citizens of the world in an all-night message beamed out from Vancouver's illuminated domed stadium. A cheering crowd of 30,000 helped her issue the worldwide invitation to Expo '86, Canada's international transportation fair.

Mulroney beats the bell



The Mulroney and Pocklington (below) for federal voters, two competitors

Two confident businessmen overshadowed the professional politicians last week as Joe Clark and Peter Mulroney took the lead in real-life contenders for the federal Conservative leadership. Mulroney, the former Pocklington Industries president, said his campaign would be "very, very soon." To give him an added push, his supporters passed belief through the air on the initial stage of the campaign, just three days before the party's campaign watchdogs adopted new fundraising disclosure rules.

Both Mulroney and former Tory finance minister John Crosbie plan to kick off their official campaigns on the first day of spring, March 13. An announcement by Peter Mulroney, former party president, was expected immen-

ently, and Toronto-area MP Michael Wilson and John Cumis both declared their candidacies last week. But those formalities were the least important items on political agendas as the behind-the-scenes drafting of campaign phone lines connecting Tory strongholds across the country.

Party professionals have been surprised by the speed with which political patterns have been shifting. Mulroney has emerged with far greater early strength than expected. Meanwhile, Clark's fading prospects have precipitated concern in the camps of Crosbie and David Crombie, the first major candidate to announce a Gallup poll released Friday showed that Tory support has slipped by four per cent since the Winnipeg bloodbath last January. Party insiders say that Clark has been unable to build on the initial wave of sympathy. Key federal organizers have joined

In the contest's early days the main struggle is over organizers and money. While Mulroney pushed the hot in Montreal, Pocklington was making his campaign for the others by turning to his campaign manager Toronto public affairs consultant Skip White at \$40,000, plus a salary of \$10,000 per month. Pocklington estimates that his campaign will cost no more than \$475,000, while party officials estimate that their campaign will be the \$600,000 range. Ironically, only Mulroney has been able to attract top talent at bargain-basement rates, simply because his candidacy could offer large rewards later. But the Dundasden to work and see his kept at least another 30 senior political pros from joining the fray and bringing to it their personal organizing weight.

The majority of the campaign money will be spent behind the scenes, says the organizers. By the end of the next two weeks party officials will be secondary to organization—and for that reason alone Mulroney has been silent as he has recovered his people to replace. Each of the major candidates is attempting to cobble together off-



dial campaign organizations before the party's March 15 cutoff date. Each registered campaign group can send three delegates to the leadership convention. Between March 16 and May 1 the fight will be within the various associations, in such one-on-one duels. Anticipating aggressive tactics, Tory headquarters has decided to send an observer to each delegate selection meeting outside Quebec—and two observers to Quebec meetings, one each from the Clark and Mulroney factions of the Quebec wing of the party.

Mulroney's aggressive attempt to see up his support early has earned him a reputation for provoking a "far as or against" attitude. Warnings have been issued by the Mulroney camp that loose-tongued remarks by Clark or Mulroney will not be guaranteed positions in a Mulroney cabinet. Controversy has dogged Mulroney since his successful bid at the leadership in 1976. Then, too, he provoked criticism for an over-the-top remark about his handling. He also runs a campaign that was far too thick for down-home Tories. Ironically, Mulroney has been the harshest of harshests as the son of an electrician in Bala, Ontario, who wears his pastimes with a pride of achievement that comes from holding the position of president of the Iron Ore Co. of Canada after a successful career as a labor lawyer. Still, his organizers are trying to ensure what they call a "rusty station wagon campaign" for a man who apparently fell in love with his corporate jet in 1976. The party's left wing on the far left as Mulroney continued his official campaign at meetings for potential delegates in Nova Scotia and Ontario on the weekend.

Joe Clark is now the only serious candidate in Mulroney's camp. "It's Mulroney or to lose," said a top party official last week. Turning to now the Joe Clark, and Mulroney controls that trying. Under extreme pressure to commit themselves, Denis workers across the country are trying to remain as the West can live with as Ontario candidates if that is all that stands between the West and Mulroney. As for Joe Clark, even those last half-dozen supporters with him as he spread the fatal ball results in Winnipeg are slowly peeling away en masse. With that recent humbling display of how a Tory leader's answer can be wrong, it is surprising that anyone would want to spend so much time, money and effort fighting for the job.

—IAN ANDERSON in Ottawa

Dining out on the economy

Last of the first week of spring, the first of economic recovery is lifting the mood of the nation. And last week, when the 10 provincial finance ministers met for a 31-hour meeting with federal Finance Minister Marc Lalonde, they provided a clear sign of that increasing buoyancy. They were negotiating furiously after a winter of valuations and fear, their schedules were reasonably normal. Meanwhile, Prime Minister Pierre Tro-



Lalonde, surviving a winter of fear

over transfer payments. Lalonde wants to improve the federal, Bico-and-Five conditions on Ottawa's contribution to postsecondary education programs. The province claim that in a disputed grant for more centralized control. Commented Saskatchewan Finance Minister Robert Andrew after the meeting: "The trust that seemed to be developing (at the last week meeting) is disappearing now starting to slide away." But that was a trust born of desperation, too fragile to survive the transition to better times. As a result, the challenge for the country's 11 first ministers as they gathered around Trudeau's dinner table is to rebuild that faith on a more solid footing.

The omens are not good. Trudeau and Nova Scotia Premier John Buchanan, this year's spokesman for the premiers, have both argued since last month in several one-on-one meetings that the message about whether to meet before or after this week's two-day native rights conference (page 46) for their economic talk. The premiers believed that a full-fledged economic summit is needed as soon as possible, and they wanted to set a date for the meeting before the constitutional gathering begins.

But Trudeau favored a more informal meeting and he preferred to hold it after the native conference. Finally, last week they reached a compromise which would set a date for the meeting in the middle of the constitutional conference and possibly postpone after it ended.

Still, there are grounds for co-operation. Both levels of government—with the exception of Alberta and Saskatchewan—have agreed that the current economic activity has picked up enough since Christmas that a massive increase in government deficits is no longer warranted. And there also appears to be agreement that whatever money is spent should be carefully targeted at sectors of the economy that are likely to be the strongest when the long-awaited recovery takes hold.

The outlook is still uncertain. The latest unemployment rate, released last week, remains at a punishing 12.9 per cent and shows few signs of easing. At the same time, a waiting game, hoping for a rise in still narrowly swelling Lalonde's budget, expected in late April. An Ontario Treasurer Frank Miller put it: "Things are moving so fast it is foolish to predict an early March which might be needed in early April." The same sentiment was expressed by Finance Minister Lalonde in his last breathless hour.

—CHLOE GOULD in Toronto



New Democrats Martin and Noyes: To the victors belong the perks of opposition

Alberta's opposition of two

In his 11 years as the lone New Democratic Party MP in the Blue Tory stronghold of Alberta, provincial Leader Grant Noyes learned to hide his emotions. As a result, when the Speaker of the legislature last week declared Noyes, 44, the leader of Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition, the NDP chief remained expressionless. Later, at a corresponding celebration in his office, Noyes explained his demeanor: "You know, when you have sat in the House for so many years, you learn to control your disappointment and your pleasure."

In contrast to last week, there was no celebrating after last fall's provincial election when Premier Peter Lougheed's tag blue (opposition) almost wiped out the opposition. When the ballots were counted, only two NDP members, Noyes and Ray Martin, and two independent, Ray Spence and Walter Beck, former Social Credit members, found that they had seats. The two independent members of the official opposition in the last legislature, formed a coalition, and the race was on. Both groups immediately applied for the legislative privilege and the perks that go with it, close to \$280,000 in members' honoraria, better offices, a substantially higher salary for the leader, plus a car and the right to lead a Question Period. However, Speaker Gerald Amerongen, with advice from Ottawa constitutional expert Eugene Forsey, decided that he could not rule on the matter until he was formally agreed in the chair by the full legislature, which occurred last week. There were sugges-

tions, though, that Amerongen was keeping extra money from any Opposition members for a while to sit with Tony Ples.

For the past three months, researchers for both sides have spent hundreds of hours poring through Hansard, constitutional texts and theories, publishing newspapers and listening to archival material to find evidence to support their respective positions. In total, the two groups filed 10 briefs. The independents argued that they should have the job because of their seniority and experience, while the NDP also asserted that they were entitled to Opposition status because they ran an organized political party and won 10.8 per cent of the popular vote, compared with 1.6 per cent talked by the five other opposition parties. Finally, last Friday, Amerongen rose and quietly expounded in a 30-minute speech that there were no parliamentary precedents to guide him. Instead, he accepted the NDP's arguments "for the time being," because the situation could change dramatically with the outcome of a single by-election.

Meanwhile, the two NDP members plan to shake up the usually soporific Alberta legislature. Even when Noyes was the sole sitting NDP member, he was more effective than the combined Liberal Opposition. Because of the philosophical differences between the NDP and the Tories, Noyes says, "We are going to use the language of meaningful debate in the province—and that's a good thing."

—GORDON LORRIS in Edmonton

Intensive care for the language

Quebec language commissioner investigator Pierre Chénard was unequivocal in his ruling: the late Marie Marthe Larose, 66, he declared last week, was denied her rights to hospital services in the province's official language. Then he gave Montreal's St. Mary's Hospital until Sept. 3 to make its intensive care ward operational in French or face financial charges and possible fines. That long-awaited decision on the "right to die in French" (Macleod's Jan 3) showed again the power that bureaucrats—the language police—have in the interpretation of BIL 20.

The case began 18 months after the unofficial Larose died of cancer on May 8, 1980, when her daughter, Huguette, filed a formal complaint. She charged that "he soon as my mother arrived in the intensive care ward we noticed that the nurses spoke to her in English." After examining shift schedules and the hospital's evaluation of the staff's fluency in French, Chénard concluded that for 34 per cent of the time that Larose was dying, her nurses spoke 11.5 or no French. Chénard also noted that staff in the intensive care unit spent most of their time dealing with crises and monitoring life-support systems and that there is little opportunity for "idle chat" in any language. Still, the investigator, who has written medical and legal training, ruled that the humane and legal treatment of Larose required that every contact with her be in French only. Hospital representatives countered that the unofficial nurses were never on duty alone and that the requirement that services "be available" in French was respected.

The language commissioner handed down its ruling at the same time that Cultural Communities Minister David Godin, who is responsible for BIL 20, described some applications of the law as "excesses and abuses." Indeed, he disclosed that the staff of English institutions like St. Mary's Hospital may communicate in French and directives written in English if they are accompanied by French translations. He also promised legislative hearings in the fall to examine other complaints about the language law, which has angered English-speaking Quebecers more than any other action of the controversial Levesque government. Asked why he is now considering remission to the five-year-old language law, Godin explained, "Because I'm a guy of peace and love."

—ANDY BRINK, with Jon Kalish in Montreal

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Kohl with celebratory beer (left); Kohl (center); Genscher; Moscow's loss was the heart of the chancellor's problems

WORLD

Challenge of the Green Machine

The day-to-day life of the West German Bundestag is like that of most parliamentary institutions, respect for the established order reigns supreme. So, when the Green party, environmentalists turned deputies, decided to invite the press into their first official caucus session, they discovered the room was far too small. The faithful retainers of West Germany's parliament, fully aware the Greens had elected 27 members, scheduled their meeting into an appropriately sized room. As a result, reporters were squeezed from the meeting. Thus were the Greens, West Germany's "anti-party," welcomed to official status after gaining their parliamentary foothold last week.

However, it is unlikely the Greens will be as easily outmaneuvered again in pursuit of their goals. Minority rights, disarmament and the reorganization of industrial society are the object and the Greens have said they will tear up the rule book to get them.

While the Greens seem destined to achieve political life, they are unlikely to win support in the Bundestag as among those West German voters who

on March 4 returned the country's ruling centre-right coalition under Chancellor Helmut Kohl with a workable majority. The conservative-liberal partnership took 278 of the 498 lower house seats, compared to a combined total of 229 for the socialists and the Greens. In capturing 49.9 per cent of the popular vote and 244 seats, Kohl's conservative Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and its Bavarian sister party, the Christian Social Union (CSU), recorded their second-best result since the founding of the German Federal Republic in 1949. Kohl's socialist (SPD) rivals, once led by Helmut Schmidt, suffered their worst setback in two decades with a meagre 30.2 per cent and 150 seats.

To add to Kohl's triumph, his Liberal Free Democrats Party (FDP) coalition partners in the governing administration pulled earlier predictions by managing—like the Greens—to bundle the five-per-cent minimum of votes needed under proportional representation to obtain 34 seats in the Bundestag. Kohl attributed his soaring vote to having had "the courage to tell voters about the economy."

It was undoubtedly Kohl's hard-

ness approach to West Germany's mounting economic ills that convinced cautious voters he was the best man to lead the country over the four difficult years to come. The people preferred the chancellor's plan to boost investment and drastically prune the country's burgeoning public debt to the SPD's comparatively free-spending approach. SPD Leader Hans-Jochen Vogel had proposed new job-creation plans and faster welfare disbursements to soften the impact of 10.6-per-cent unemployment, a postwar peak. The positive public reaction to Kohl's victory was echoed on the Frankfurt stock exchange, which recorded a 224-point run—the sharpest in more than 22 years—while the West German mark reversed its recent drift against major world currencies.

Despite the fact that German observers were virtually unanimous in declaring that the CDU-CSU triumph was based on those economic issues, forces outside Germany were reading nuclear overtones into the vote. In fact, West Germany's NATO allies were overjoyed. Hardly had the results reached Washington than President Ronald Reagan telephoned to congratulate the pro-U.S.

Kohl. A White House spokesman said Reagan told the chancellor that he looked forward to working with the renewed "Ston administration" on the economic and security challenges that our nations face." Reagan, like Bonn's other allies, welcomed the victory as a much-needed boost for the alliance in negotiations with the Soviet Union on limiting medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe.

By contrast, Moscow was keenly disappointed that West German voters effectively endorsed Kohl's argument that Pershing II and cruise missiles should be stationed in Europe at the end of the year if the current German nuclear arms reductions talks collapse. Vogel, with much of his party favoring unilateral disarmament, had been markedly less enthusiastic about accepting the new missiles to counter the building of Soviet SS-20s targeted on Western Europe and had received a usually expert Krenz endorsement. Yet after the CDU's win, Moscow changed from blandishment to threat. Any deployment of U.S. missiles in West Germany, said the Soviet news agency TASS, would "promote mistrust and suspicion between Moscow and Bonn" as well as

complicating all other contacts."

But Moscow's ire was the heart of Kohl's problems. His most immediate headache was the makeup of the new cabinet, which he is due to announce this week. Since the barely six-foot-four-inch chancellor lacks an overall majority, he faces the need to placate his SPD partners—chief among them, his past foreign minister, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the SPD leader. But Franz-Josef Strauss, the turbulent leader of the CDU, has long coveted Genscher's job. Having emerged from the election as Kohl's strongest electoral ally, Strauss spent much of last week in a battle with Kohl to

Hans-Jochen Vogel's back



have presided his claim on Genscher's job, while the former foreign minister made it clear that he had no intention of quitting a post he held responsibly for seven years.

But if both contenders marshal strong arguments in their favor, both could prove burdensome to the chancellor in the long run. Genscher has not yet lived down the reputation for treachery that he acquired last October when he topped former chancellor Schmidt's socialist government by selling out of the coalition and crossing the

Bundestag floor to join Kohl. As for Strauss, his towering ambition would make him a difficult colleague. As a superbly, he might swing Bonn's foreign policy sharply to the right to the *thrust* of allies and adversaries alike. At week's end Kohl appeared to be leaning toward the appointment of Genscher as foreign minister. At any rate, the elusive Strauss, who has never concealed his wish to be chancellor, will remain a divisive force in a government whose main challenge will be West Germany's economic plight.

The country's economy, one of the most buoyant in the West, is unlikely to grow at all this year. But, on the other hand, economists predict that the current unemployment figure of 2.5 million could grow to more than three million by late fall. Not only that, but the socialist opposition, smaller but no less pragmatic after last week's defeat, can be expected to join West Germany's powerful trade unions in an over-the-horizon battle against Kohl's deficit-reducing measures, especially planned welfare cuts for the unemployed.

Still the heaviest, if not the most daunting, challenge to Kohl will come from the Greens, outfoxed by U.S.-educated pacifist Peter Koller, the step-daughter of a U.S. colonel. The mainstream political parties were divided on how the Greens' intrusion in Bonn will affect West German politics. One SPD member of the Bundestag, Friedhelm Rintrop, categorized them as "wreckers in sheep's clothing" who would try to stand parliament on its ear. But a CDU colleague, Hubertus van den Broek, claimed it was better to have the Greens in parliament than on the streets. "Responsibility will come then," he predicted.

It may be a tortuous process, particularly if Bonn has to live up to its pledge to stage *Panorama* in the coming weeks on West German soil. The Greens have promised to oppose deployment by every means short of violence, including blockades of missile sites, hunger strikes, sit-ins at the Bundestag and refusal of conscription. In the meantime, West German doubts about the deployment of missiles—60 per cent of the people in a recent poll were opposed—the Greens can expect to gain strong support from a broad spectrum of society.

It is unlikely that a Green-led peace revolution would deter Kohl from deploying the missiles. But he cannot hope to emerge politically unscathed from the controversy. For the Greens, losing a battle against disarmament would be as disastrous. For Kohl, winning it against the wishes of more than half the electorate could sharply reduce his next victory.

—FRANK LEWIS in Bonn



Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy prospects of a humiliating cabinet shakeup

FRANCE

The troubled left flank

France's affable Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy may be regretting his forced optimism during the country's municipal election campaign in the teeth of all the predictions. Mauroy has declared, "All our troubles are behind us." But last week, in the wake of the stunning rebuke voters delivered to his 28-month-old Socialist government-opposition parties took 11 percent of the votes in the first round of balloting—Mauroy's troubles were multiplying. In his own municipal stronghold of Lille, Mauroy's margin was so slim that he faced a runoff ballot against scandal-riddled opponents. More seriously, there was the prospect of a humiliating cabinet shakeup that may even include his own replacement as the ineptive lightning rod that has diverted the heat for President François Mitterrand's Socialist experiment. Although the local elections have no direct impact on the national government, the balloting amounted to a referendum on the Socialist-led coalition with the Communists under Mitterrand.

As rumors swirled about a possible successor, Mauroy elevated himself to the Elysée Palace with Mitterrand to decipher just where his government had gone wrong with so electorally that fared at least six of his ministers out of local office—they are allowed to hold both—and sent two of the Socialist party's top officials down to defeat in Paris. Moderates and conservatives allied to former president Valéry Giscard d'Estaing and Gaullist Jacques Chirac, outmaneuvered their municipal allies, including Chirac as mayor of Paris. The Socialists, in contrast, lost a dozen cit-

ies—including Grenoble, which they had held for the past 18 years. THE LEFT DEVALUED, shrank the leftist daily *L'Humanité*. That pain alluded to an even more pressing dilemma facing Mauroy's socialist mandate in the wake of the second runoff vote: whether to dissolve the besieged franc for the third time since coming to power in 1981 or pull it out of the European Monetary System (EMS). After spending so much on \$1.25 billion of its foreign exchange reserves to bolster the currency in the two weeks before the vote, the government let the franc slip to its lowest point since the soaring German Deutsche mark.

Chirac leadership status consolidated



France thus qualified for a bailout from special IMF funds. But while the measure stanchied the hemorrhage from the Bank of France's reserves, it made a realignment of European currencies inevitable.

Moreover, Mauroy's woe did not end there. In the midst of his deliberations, a bomb exploded not far from a synagogue in Marseille, where Interior Minister Gaston Defferre was desperately fighting to hang on as mayor, as he had held for 33 years. Then, as elections prepared to vote in the second round of balloting last Sunday, news leaked that the army chief of staff, Gen. Jean Delmas, had resigned for "political reasons." Delmas's departure partially exposed the growing rift between the military and the government over outbreaks in conventional defense spending.

The fate of the headline popular prime minister lies in the hands of the vote, also, having left himself fully open to the bitter municipal election fray, now held at the strings. Mitterrand, the master strategist of past Socialist recoveries, is expected to swoop into action this week with a stern new policy line that both reinforces the existing austerity slash and nudges the country back toward the left.

What the government is now faced to confront is the degree to which its anti-gun policies have managed to alienate every social estate. The ire of the business community was hardly unpredictable after the Socialist's anti-industrialization program and its inclusion of Communists in the cabinet. The gradual disaffection of the middle and professional classes has been more startling. They have seen their buying power shrunk by higher taxes and contributions to social services and by the falling franc.

The irony of the election upset was the clear result to the Socialist's demagogic program. The left lost control after handing increased power to city halls. The efforts to undercut neo-Gaullist Jacques Chirac's power base in Paris boomeranged spectacularly. After the first round alone, he swept 18 of the city's 26 arrondissement rounds back into the fold. Indeed, overall the vote consolidated Chirac's claim to lead the opposition. His party won most of the 15 city halls snatched from the left. However, as Chirac pointed out, the election was a "warning" to the government—but one that came "free of charge." The Socialists have three years to regroup before the more important national legislative elections. Meanwhile, the Mitterrand-Mauroy team, which sprang to office nearly two years ago under the banner of *le changement*, is now facing some serious changes itself.

—MAURICE McDONALD in Paris

ZIMBABWE

Nkomo evades the dragnet

The details of Joshua Nkomo's escape across 400 km of rough bush terrain from his farm at Mangoch, south of Bulawayo, to neighboring Botswana were secret. So were his whereabouts in his country of refuge. But there was no mystery last week about the reason for the sudden flight of Zimbabwe Prime Minister Robert Mugabe's chief rival. For three days government troops, including the notorious Fifth Brigade, had conducted all-black sweeps in and around Bulawayo, conducting house-to-house searches and arresting an estimated 1,700 people. In the process, they smashed the town base of the 40-year-old Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) leader and gunned down his 40-year-old chauffeur. And Nkomo at a dramatic press conference in Lilongwe said his Fifth Brigade to "kill me."

The charge was swiftly denied by ministers of Mugabe's Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) government and by the officially controlled press. But officials made no secret of their intention to hold the ZAPU leader to account for an earlier attempt to leave the country on Feb. 19. Arrested at the airport, Nkomo was later told that he could face at least five charges. Two of them, for sedition, arose from his accusations that the Zimbabwean army's Fifth Brigade had committed atrocities against his Ndebele people in the southern province of Matabeleland.

Nkomo's second, successful escape attempt last week brought acute embarrassment to his reluctant host in Zim-

Zimbabwe's opposition leader flees and splits the ranks of his followers, bringing one-party rule closer

babwe the government-controlled *Harold* newspaper accused Botswana of "declaring war on us." The *Harold* also repeated government allegations that the Dekwe refugee camp in Botswana, where 40 Ndebele a day are still arriving to join an estimated 1,000 fugitives, has been turned into a "disfiling training camp." But Botswana's repre-

sentative on the UN High Commission for Refugees said that inmates had been carefully screened before admission.

At week's end, Mugabe, in Harare for a month of nonstop sessions, advised Nkomo to return to Zimbabwe, saying that he was in no danger if he did so. But after authorities arrested his wife, Jeanna, daughter Theodora and neo-law John Nkomo for 40 hours questioning, Nkomo demurred. Instead, he stayed on last weekend from his refuge, believed to be in a government guest house in Gaborone, to Botswana. There he planned to publicly accuse the Mugabe government of repression in Matabeleland, where at least 1,000 Ndebele reportedly have been killed since the Fifth Brigade began operations in January.

ZAPU, which has its roots among the Ndebele, claims that Mugabe's ZANU, which represents the larger Shona tribe, is conducting a ruthless campaign to wipe out opposition and establish a one-party state. If so, Nkomo's flight seemed likely to bring that goal a long step closer. After his leader pondered for next move in exile, ZAPU officials split over whether or not to replace him. With the opposition divided and his troops in control of Matabeleland, Mugabe was in a position to dictate the future course of events.

—NICK WOODALL in Gaborone

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The Pope in Guatemala: firm calls for a dialogue to end the fighting

CENTRAL AMERICA

Raising the ante in Salvador

As Pope John Paul II wound up his grueling eight-day tour of Central America last week, it was clear, even to his most ardent admirers, that the pontiff's unopinionated pleas for "peace, concord and hope" would do little to end strife in the war-torn region. Neither those pleas nor his personal presence bridged the divide between Washington-backed right-wing regimes in Central America and the leftist guerrilla movements which seek to topple them. Nor did he succeed in healing the breach between the region's radical clergy and their often conservative Pope.

That fact was never more evident than during the Pope's visit to El Salvador. He pointedly visited the tomb of former archbishop Oscar Oscar Romero, who was gunned down by a right-wing death squad in 1980, and rebuked the state army held responsible—Congressman Assembly President Maj. Roberto Adonises. But he also told radical clergy that their place was at the altar. However, the real proof that he had changed nothing came from Washington. President Ronald Reagan asked Congress for an immediate \$100-million infusion of military aid for El Salvador's army (the previous week the administration had asked for \$80 million). The president's stated reason to stem a recent run of guerrilla successes and to "halt the spread of communism." The money would be used,

Reagan said, to keep communities and their Salvadoran troops in the United States. If Congress refused to supply the funds, Reagan hinted, he might be forced to bump the number of U.S. military advisers there from 45 to 55. To reinforce his message, Reagan alleged that the guerrillas could spread violence to neighboring countries. "Central America is simply too close, and the strategic stakes are too high," he said.

Reagan's drive for emergency aid followed a U.S. attempt to oust 83 Salvadorans to advance the date of planned elections from March 1981 to next December. The U.S. Embassy has said it would support a "dialogue" with the guerrillas on guarantees that the latter would be allowed to take part fully in elections. Last week Salvadoran Deputy Foreign Minister Alejandro Gimen Fides announced during a televised address broadcast in New Delhi that his government plans to declare a general amnesty in August. But in view of the government's powerlessness to protect even moderate—more than 200 centre-right Christian Democrats have been killed since last year's Constituent Assembly elections—observers doubted whether the guerrillas would accept.

There was also skepticism in Congress. Nevertheless, the administration will continue to struggle to win what its critics increasingly call "Romero's war." Obviously for the old old war-torn, the stakes are too high to heed peace messages from a pope.

—CAROL BURNAN in Toronto, with William Leathers in Washington and Drew Wilson in San Salvador

THE UNITED STATES

Meltdown of the Ice Queen

The political machinations engulfing the Environmental Protection Agency gathered new momentum last week with the resignation of EPA administrator Anne Burford and the Reagan administration's capitulation to congressional demands for the release of sensitive agency documents. Despite Burford's order—and the White House's de facto waiver of the executive privilege that it had conditioned the release of the documents—had a dozen congressional committees are still investigating a lengthy dossier of charges against the EPA. They range from mismanagement and priority to political manipulation of the EPA's Superfund for the cleanup of toxic waste dumps. Moreover, the enmeshment among Capitol Hill critics of the agency and the nation's vocal lobby of environmentalists is that Burford, whose surname changed from Gersbach when she married last month, was the lobbyist of President Ronald Reagan's policies. Now, in addition to the specific allegations of wrongdoing, the EPA's overall approach to its mandate—environmental protection—is under attack.

Burford's resignation—tendered in a 30-minute Oval Office meeting with the president—was anything but a surprise. For nearly three months the "Ice Queen" has been the focal point of an intense power struggle between the White House and House Democrats, who were intent on exposing what they regard as the EPA's overly friendly relations with polluters. On Reagan's order, Burford had refused to surrender agency files concerning the EPA's toxic waste enforcement program—claiming executive privilege. When the House Representatives voted to cite her for contempt of Congress, the justice department said to block the citation. A federal court subsequently dismissed the suit, recommending an out-of-court settlement. But efforts at compromise failed. And when, in the face of several charges against the agency, Reagan asked the justice department to conduct its own investigation of EPA's misfeasance, Justice effectively abandoned Burford. The department said it could no longer defend her against investigations by committees on Capitol Hill.

Previously, Burford parried the White House to release all the documents. But the president's allies denounced Reagan's string-of-attached proposal—that the panels could see but not keep the files—was rejected. Democrats and lib-

eral Republicans then stepped up the pressure on Burford to leave, for the greater good of the president. For a time, the tough-minded, 40-year-old Denver lawyer resisted. She took her case to an influential group of women conservatives, who petitioned Reagan to keep her on. And the president, by nature averse to firing staffers, resisted as late as March 5 that Burford could keep her job for as long as she wanted.

But last week, apparently convinced that Burford had become a major political liability, Reagan accepted her resignation, calling it "an act of sensitivity and personal courage." At the same time, the administration pledged full congressional access to the documents in dispute. "Weakening the legal argument," a White House statement said, "can only result in the slowing down of the release of information to Congress, therefore fostering suspicion in the public mind that somehow the important doctrine of executive privilege is being used to shield possible wrongdoing."

If the president hoped his submission would defuse the crisis, the Democrats quickly disappointed him. Rep. John Dingell (D-Mich.) contended that Burford had "taken the ball for carrying out the administration's policies." The purge would not affect his investigation, said Dingell, who has previously claimed to have evidence of EPA criminal conduct and the use of the toxic waste Superfund for political purposes. Among the well-documented charges is that about \$6.1 million for the cleanup of the Springfield Acid Pit in California was deliberately held up by EPA officials, who did not want to bolster then Gov. Jerry Brown's Senate candidacy. Other cleanup agencies were allegedly given priority status—to help Republican candidates. The ruling months will test the validity of those and many other charges.

Reagan, however, remained defiant at week's end. Questioned at a press conference about the whole affair, he reacted with what one observer described as cold fury. Burford, he said, was "far bigger person" than her critics. It was he, not she, who had countered an withholding the sensitive documents. As for the "extensive" critics of the EPA, he would not be happy "until the White House looks like a hen's nest."

As for Burford, she has reportedly been promised a part-time post on some unspecified board or commission. Taking her leave last week, she refused to invite the somewhat theory, saying only, "It was going to be the point where I couldn't do my job any more." Friend and foe alike certainly would have agreed.

—MICHAEL FISHER in Washington

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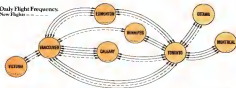
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BUSINESS

Shoppers sets the pace

By James Florio

Barring through the doors of a Thompson Cross Mart on North Toronto, founder and chairman of the 69-year drug-retailing empire, characteristically unbuttoned "Our competitors just don't match this far excellence," he croons, waving at a freshly coiffed customer. As if appraising a fine piece of art, he gazes at a saleswoman product approvingly before spotting a flaw in the placement of a pair stashed there. The whitened roar provides a glimpse of the energy that has helped Koffler build Shoppers into the runaway leader in Canadian drug chains and a growing contender in the U.S. market. "I've always been one worshipping and a voracious consumer for squibbols," Shoppers has outpaced its rivals in acquisition and sales growth in fact, for the year ending March 31, 1983, the chain has rung up sales of more than \$1 billion for the first time in its 37-year history—years that have seen the small, blue-shirt Independent chain grow into a nationally renowned, color-coded major power to the house. Fluffy entrepreneurs

Koffler modestly brushes off praise for the feat, preferring instead to boast

about his management team. "My strength is in inspiring others with ideas," he says. But industry observers give Koffler much credit for constructing what Barnes & Noble Ltd. analyst Donald Tigert calls "by far the best drug chain in Canada." Now, with a new leadership

man being groomed to take over from Kaffen, who is expected by industry sources to retire within a few years, there is little doubt that the new guard will have a formidable set to follow.

Spurheading the group is David Bloom, a beach pharmacist nursing 40 who has risen through Shopper's ranks and who takes control of company-wide operations on April 1. He becomes president and chief executive officer of the company, which was taken over in 1978 by Inmate Ltd., the Montreal-based corporate giant.



controlled by F.A.T. Industries Ltd. of British Kaffer will remain as chairman, and former president Jack Gwartz will become vice-chairman, but power will increasingly flow to Bloom. Says Innes: Chairman Paul Port "Bloom is taking over as top guy in the place. Murray and Jack will be terribly important in passing on their advice and experience."

Koffler's track record is impressive. His success began in 1946 when, shortly after his father's death, he stepped in to take over two family drugstores in Toronto. Disgraced because most of the family's money had been lost in the 1930s, Koffler made major investments in the drug business and soon became ubiquitous in the Canadian drug-retailing business. He dispensed with the soda fountain, stopped delivering and brought in more drug, health and beauty products. Business boomed. By 1960, Koffler had acquired his "first big break" from the late K.F. Kipler—the wealthy entrepreneur let him open stores in his shopping centre developments—Koffler began his expansion. By 1968 Koffler Stores Ltd. had opened or acquired 36 stores. The next year, he opened his first U.S. store. The next decade, and in 1978, when Inezco bought the business for an estimated \$40 million, Koffler's empire included 300 Shoppers Drug Mart stores across Canada and the United States, 14 Pharmaprix stores in Quebec, 75 Shoppers Drug Mart outlets and 100 stores in the Five Seasons retail chain.

The sale was a difficult decision for Koffler. He made it only after a unanimous vote by his immediate family members. But Koffler thought it was the best way to ensure the operation's growth and security.



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buying between 1978 and 1980 the operations grew to include 438 stores, and total sales jumped by 208 per cent. But one blip on the record came in 1982 when a labor arbitrator criticized the company for fringe at a Bette, Oet, store and ordered senior employees reinstated.

In the course of his accomplishments, Koffler himself was transferred from a local drugstore into a highly prized management position. The only setback in his office of his origin is a collection of mortar and pestle suits used by apothecaries as far back as the 16th century. With an eighth grade, Koffler points out that Shoppers hang up an amazing \$2,608 in average sales per square foot this year while the average amount for U.S. drug companies was \$155. Including in rent on his lazzarini, Koffler predicts sales growth will continue at its 30 percent rate. Shoppers' expansion is a definite possibility with the onset of the economic recovery, as developers start off delayed plans for

new shopping centres. In fact, the industry is largely recession-proof, since the health boom means that vitamins, for example, have moved from a slow-moving specialty to a large-volume profit item.

Still, Shoppers will face some determined opposition for a share of the \$1.7-billion Canadian market for drug, health and beauty goods, which has consistently out-paced inflation. Rex McCallister, an analyst with Dominion Securities Amex Ltd., estimates that Shoppers currently enjoys a 25 per cent share of the market. The closest competitor is U.K.-controlled Boots Drug Stores (Canada) Ltd., with 107 stores and an estimated four- to five-per cent slice of the market. Boots entered the Canadian scene in the late 1970s, when its parent, Boots the Chemist Ltd., bought out the same chain. Boots will make a small profit for the first time on sales of \$220 million. "We're making progress," says Boots

President Alistair McIntosh, "and are now entering on the edge of a turnaround." Also upping for a fight are aggressive smaller chains like London Drugs Ltd., a British Columbia-based operation with estimated annual sales of more than \$700 million. As well, such groupings of independent owners as the 325-member Independent Drugists' Alliance (IDA) and Guardian Drugs are jostling for market shares using promotion campaigns devised by their wholesaler, Toronto-based Drug Trading Co. Ltd.

The prospect is that all the contenders will find room for growth. Burns Fry analyst Tigert estimates that the industry will grow by 15 per cent in the next five years. The reasons, he explains, include an increased demand for drugs by an aging population and the growing number of working women who use drugs for fast convenience shopping. Such predictions bode well for the industry as a whole and for the new team at Shoppers Drug Mart. President-designate Bloom has ambitious aims for Shoppers. His first task will be to orchestrate a campaign to increase productivity. "The goal is to achieve \$1 billion in sales in the next five years and \$2 billion in the next 10 years," he says. If Bloom is successful, Murray Koffler will have met his match. □



Bloom: ambitious goals

The cartel that never was

For a body whose power has been so widely feared for more than a decade, it was not much of a show of strength. When the 15 members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries gathered last week for its fourth crisis session in a year, the word that leaked out of a London hotel was mostly of bickering and internal strife.

By the end of the week it appeared that four days of meetings had come up with only a single agreement. With the London talks continuing, group members apparently decided to let their crude oil reference price by \$5 (U.S.) to a more realistic \$29 a barrel. But it was a hollow victory. The organization remained in turmoil over how to divide the world's shrinking and increasingly competitive oil market. If OPEC again fails in its bid to set quotas, there is little hope that even a \$29-a-barrel price can be maintained. If OPEC indeed were a cartel, it is now a very weak one. Says Thomas McKernan, director of research at Houston-based Lambert Inc., an international energy futures group: "The test of a cartel's worth is, 'Can you take enough oil off the market to control price?' I doubt that OPEC can."

Indeed, McKernan, whose clients in-

clude many major oil companies, and other specialists argue that even in the boom times of the 1970s, when crude soared from \$2.25 a barrel to more than \$36 OPEC was simply riding the demand curve. Even the oil embargo—launched by Saudi Arabia and other Arab states during the 1973 Yom Kippur War—was beyond OPEC's control. While the Saudi

In some OPEC countries further production cuts could well amount to political suicide for the current regimes

and other Arabs cut production by as much as 10 per cent, many other OPEC members boosted their output in order to cash in on the sellers' market. Says McKernan: "OPEC doesn't set prices, they follow the market with a lag." Not only has OPEC been unable to control the supply of oil on the market, it has been unable to maintain even its own price agreements. Walter Mead, an economist at the University of California, concluded in a study of OPEC pricing

that the "price and output policies appear to be determined independently of OPEC policy." Not surprisingly, policies were behind much of the flooding in London. Many OPEC members, among them Venezuela and Nigeria, ran up huge debts borrowing as future oil dollars during the boom years. Fred Singer of the Washington-based Heritage Foundation thinks tank asks that production cuts for these countries now "will be very painful" and could well amount to political suicide for the current regimes. The low-price, low-debt producers like the Saudis, who reduced production by half to less than four million barrels a day in the past year, are also reluctant to cut back even more. An additional complication is the war between OPEC members Iran and Iraq. Iran has slashed prices to take away sales from Saudi Arabia which, in turn, has been pumping money into Iraq's arteries. For all that, Singer submits that there may well be quotas established at the London talks. But, he adds: "It will soon fall apart. It won't last."

Even that, says the end of OPEC? McKernan thinks that this past week's uncoordinated action betrays a very real ability. "A real cartel," he said, "would have wrapped this up in a couple of days. I think they will go the way of the tin canner. OPEC is not OPEC anymore." —LUI ALBERTI in Toronto

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A blue blood and the Bluenosers

By Peter C. Newman

Can a boy scout find happiness running a merchant bank out of Charlottetown?

Donald Mackay Deacon is about to find out.

One of those cheerful scums of the Establishment who peopled Bay Street a decade ago, Deacon has launched an intriguing venture capital trust for the Maritimes, using Upper Canadian dollars and Down East know-how.

The son of Col. Fred Deacon, the founder of one of Toronto's median-sized investment houses at the turn of the century, Deacon had his medical studies interrupted by the Second World War, served briefly with Queen Elizabeth's antiaircraft battery, then became a forward observation officer with a Cape Breton regiment in the Royal Canadian Artillery. He fought a good war, winning a Military Cross and being mentioned in dispatches, but best of all he got to know and admire the Maritimers. "I learned that when you have them with you, they're the most productive people on earth," he says. "But if they're not comfortable with you or their working environment, you can forget it."

He was taught the investment business as a member of his father's firm for two decades after the war, became a politician and spent eight years as a front-bench critic in the Opposition Liberal party of Ontario, ending up as its deputy leader. A tall and angular individual who treats every new day like a gift to be cherished, Deacon has done everything from being a leading light of the Royal Scottish Country Dance Society of Toronto to becoming Canada's top scout. (He organized his first troop in Belleville, Ont., and is now national commissioner of the scout movement.)

In the fall of 1980 he became temporarily disillusioned with the corporate life and went to France with his wife, Florence, to live as a tiny village half-breed between Maritimes and Nice. He picked grapes, pressed olives, learned the language and thought about things Down there he went to Prince Edward Island, where one of his children had bought a large farm. "The advantage of working in Charlottetown," he says, "is that it takes me precisely 30 seconds to get to work. I have a very relaxed attitude about commuting to the harbor and can live at a different pace."

When Tullia Godwin, president of the CV Investment Division, heard about the move, he got in touch with Deacon and pledged \$5 million to the venture the ex-Torontonian had been mulling over: a trust fund to provide median-sized businesses in the Atlantic provinces with venture capital (in return for an equity interest) and professional management techniques. Jean-Louis Melancon brought in his personal life for \$500,000, while Jalyne Bennett of Manufacturers' Life took up a



Deacon: faith in the Maritimes

cool \$1 million. The Ontario Municipal Employees Retirement Board came in for \$2 million, and the rest of the \$6.5 million raised so far has come from Maritimes investors. Eubank Cohen, whose Central Trust has just taken over Crown Trust, made a personal investment as well as bringing in the Dalhousie University pension fund. He also recommended Deacon to Brian Robertson, who controlled Maritime Telegraph and Telephone. John Begg, who lives in Collingwood, N.S., and owns On-

ford Frozen Foods, which processes a quarter of the world's frozen blueberries, and Allan Shaw, a Halifax investor, both took major positions.

To run the company (called Candale Atlantic Ventures), Deacon hired George Lee (the former head of Memorial University's extension department) in Newfoundland; Alan Bird (former executive vice-president of Sydney Steel Corp.) in Cape Breton; Tom Hayes (one of the brightest young men with Fisheries Canada) in Halifax; and Bill Jones (Hazelton's neighbor) in Fredericton.

Their first investment, for \$500,000, was in Atlantic Fish Specialties Ltd., a fish-smoking plant in Prince Edward Island. Deacon, who is a Canadian director of Maria B. Spencer, got the firm's fish products into the department store's Canadian outlets, and eventually into their British stores, and he expects the plant to be producing up to capacity within five years. Another early venture was to put \$500,000 into Intersea, a small high-tech company near Sydney that produces the best Lowran C navigation aids on the market. Another investment in a chemical firm is about to be made, and Deacon expects the full credit line to be out by the end of 1984. The trust's partner monitor performance on a monthly basis in the companies they pick for investment and can trigger a buy-back equity arrangement that would transfer a controlling interest back to the Deacon trust if sales and profit projections aren't met.

Deacon hopes that his little venture capital trust, which is expected to be up to \$10 million by this time next year, will return between 20 and 40 per cent to its investors. What's interesting and significant about all this is that in the process Deacon and his wife are helping, in their small way, to cure some of the psychology of investment in the area. At the moment 59 of the Maritime's 20 main pension funds are monitored from Toronto and Montreal. By moving in with capital resources specifically dedicated to the region, and proving that investors in the rest of Canada's have faith in the Atlantic area and are willing to back that faith with dollars, a new climate of self-confidence is on its way to being created.

"What has turned everything around does here," says Deacon, "is the entrance of the 200-million-dollar Ebb and the sea and of strikes. Even so Canada essentially being run out of Sobie Island."

PEOPLE

Canadian artist Charles Pachter has well known for his cheeky graphics as he is for his beautiful renderings of the flag. But when he received a pamphlet from

Gabrova, Bulgaria, inviting him to enter the Black International Biennale of Hanoi and Seville, he was convinced that someone was having him on. "It's bizarre," says Pachter. "I have no idea how they got my name. I even had to get out my globe to find out where Bulgaria is." Having checked out the festival's credentials, the 40-year-old Torontonian, good-naturedly sent off two postcards, *Queens as Monks and Monks as Queens*, hoping that they would root the judges' criteria—his disposition and joke de force.

If Pachter's submissions are found to capture these qualities, he stands to win the Grand Prix—a Golden Aescop Sprague and 1,500 lire (U.S. \$1,000), which must be spent in Bulgaria. Another top prize is two weeks in the Black Sea country with all expenses paid except airfare.

Nova Scotia Provincial Court Judge Robert McCleave, the sole commissioner of the province's long-running inquiry into organized crime, has been attracting hostile language since he began to explore the outer limits of his power under the Public Inquiries Act last month. McCleave, a Halifax Conservative MP for 15 years before he was appointed to the bench five years ago, has threatened to find witnesses in contempt for any criticism of his work. At one recent session in a Halifax magistrate's court, he called local freelance journalist Alan Story forward and told him that his use of two particular words in a telephone interview had been offensive. McCleave declined to speak the words in court, but, at Story's insistence, he wrote them on a slip of paper and passed them over. They were "hangozo" and "seamship." If they found their way into any of Story's articles, McCleave warned, "I shall deal with you most severely." The judge threatened Story to identify any breach at the front of the room for as long as Story says he had called



Pachter with entry, the multi-colored 'Jude de vive'

the judge and did tell him that censorship was a concern, but that he never used the inflammatory word "hangozo"—a slur certain to inflame McCleave. Nova Scotia Attorney General Harry New Jack McCleave's side in



the legislature last week, stating that it was "inappropriate for people to call judges up." How has nevertheless proceeded to investigate complaints from the province's Liberal Opposition leader, Sandy Cameron, about the arrogant McCleave this week.

For associative terms as the premier of New Brunswick may settle Maclean's magazine to his self-censorship. Still, some theatregoers to The Playhouse in Fredericton this month were surprised to learn that the blue-backed voice of God coming from a tape recorder offstage in *The Diary of Adam and Eve* from the Apple Tree was none other than that of their revered leader. The entree was director Malcolm Black's idea. The premier's seatwork team were perfect for the part and even provided a nod to the box office. Blackfield agreed, with little persistence, and acquiesced himself adroitly, says Black. "We sent over a script at my request. When we arrived with a tape recorder the next day, he was thoroughly prepared. He was mindful of his supreme billing. Halfday showed no sign of it. Signs Black. He did one reading for levels and then read it through in one take."

Lawson's current world class of the avant-garde singer's first major series of appearances since 1980. But the 25-year-old Detroit expatriate has not been idle. She viewed in a thriller, appropriately titled *Black*, for French television in part and even a London stage production about the famed dancer-actress Maud Hart. Not surprisingly, she also played the temptress. Attired in typical layers and colors with a shade of eyeshadow she calls "Tobaccoism," Lovell was admired while dancing the outlandish secret agent. "I don't believe she did the damage they say she did," Lovell quipped. As for Marie Hart's politics—she reportedly cried, "Five O'clock, please, before being shot by the French in 1917," Lovell says, "I suppose she would be saying 'Vive la France,' would she?"

—EDITED BY BARBARA RHIGGS

A crashing end to a crazy era

The scriptwriters had these things in mind: a number of the old guard was making his last appearance, the young protégé was poised to take on the world, and the friendly home crowd of 10,000 waited expectantly in the sunshine. But minutes after the start of the last World Cup downhill race of the season Saturday, the stage at Lake Louise was the scene of tears, not triumph. In the final race of his career, Ken Read crashed at the top of the course, out of range of the ciné cameras and camera crews. One run later, Todd Brooker hurtled into the most dangerous section, aptly named Double Trouble, and fell too. Read's hopes for a grand finale had ended almost before they began, and Brooker's precise plan to stay in a crouched position through Double Trouble in a risky gambit to gain precious tenths of a second had cost him his chance at the World Cup title. As he stood, head bowed, motionless from the side of his crash, tears of disappointment ran down Brooker's cheeks. Austria's Hansi Haselbauer was the race's



Brooker's dramatic events on and off the slopes

co-conspirator. From knee deep, Haselbauer seemed to capture the overall downhill crown. The "Kaiser" became, at 20, the eldest winner of the title and the first to win it five times.

Last week's dramatic events on and off the mountain slopes brought an end to Canada's first era of speed and sliding success—the wild, winning days of the "Crazy Canucks." Charter members Dave Irwin and Dave Murray retired last year, and last week Read made his departure official. With defending World Cup downhill champion Steve Nordin's upcoming lone attempt in Toronto (announced by his crash at Aspen) and national team coach John Riffeke officially retiring after Saturday's race, there was only the memory of a team that had thrilled Europe's skiswinging connoisseurs and won the hearts of a nation like most legends. The ski team's end evoked saddest memories and, weeping from those on the sidelines.

Read's announcement was not totally

unexpected. The first North American glazier boy of the downhill won five World Cup races since he posed the top in 1973. Now 27, Read had hinted at retiring before this season but decided to make one last run at the overall title. His 11th-place finish at Aspen dropped him from contention, and, one year short of a degree in economics, Read plans to return to university. (He will transfer from the University of Calgary to the University of Western Ontario.)

The season's danger in Aspen, it is not affecting his decision, certainly removed any doubts in Read's mind about the decision. As the racers prepared for the critical second-to-last race, the Canadian Ski Association (CSA), with the aid of a wedding hall, delivered him \$10,000 to each skier's hotel room. The CSA said the bills were to help defray a \$20,000 budget shortfall. The skiers were outraged, none more than Read, who had made 38 public appearances on the CSA's behalf since August

\$30,000 to the CSA to pay the skier's bills and that the Bank of Montreal will guarantee at least \$1,000 more. At work's end Read was not appeased, as he stated that the B and C teams were sent home in December due to lack of funds. "The scenario of Val Gardena was completely unnecessary. So was the way the bills were levied before the race in Aspen. The CSA must realize that they are dealing with athletes who are recognized as world class. We should not be treated as prison inmates, but I wish they understood the kind of extreme pressure we must ski with."

Brooker, the heir apparent who had the team's two wins this season, could not forget the race and his fall. "I said to myself, 'I can't believe this, it can't be happening to me, I can't be spending around'—but I was. My season ended in slow motion." And so too did that of a team which gave its name to an era.

—MEL QUINN in Toronto, with Mark Lane Fisher in Lake Louise

Last week in Lake Louise CSA officials, not surprisingly, avoided the subject of the bills while the skiers plotted a united response.

If the CSA's timing was awful, Brooker's was equally disastrous. Two days before the Aspen run Riffeke gathered his squad and revealed that, after 30 years with the team and an as head coach, he was quitting. Riffeke said that the bills angered him and were "one of the many frustrations associated with coaching." But he cited personal reasons for leaving the team after the Lake Louise race. The skiers publicly expressed surprise and speculated on a possible replacement, if any. But privately some racers were angered by the timing of Riffeke's announcement and felt he could have waited at least until the end of the season.

Riffeke and Read leave with bitterness and animosity, particularly of their strained six-year relationship. And perhaps only time will allow them to see the irony in the post-race announcements regarding that the Canadian arm of the Japanese corporation Sony plans to donate

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The school of hard knocks returns

By Trent Frayne

Hockey's halting affair with academic may be running out of passion. There's a hint that the gadgetry of science may have had its fling, too. Connie Smythe lives, if you can't beat 'em in the alley you'll never beat 'em on the ice.

There have been occasional advances since the late Maple Leafs outburst, but the endless playoffs only moments away, the game is still a lot closer to barely organized confusion than to a product of careful planning.

It wasn't supposed to be this way. The European influence of crisscrossing, drop-passing and puck control was to have put a little order into the chaos. When the puck went in the net, the populace was to have seen who put it there, not to discover via four replays and the slow-mo camera that it ricocheted past Ben Hooters of Jacques's look.

The NHL's deepest thinkers moved with electrifying speed to rectify their gaze after the Soviet losses of 1972. Within five years they were jockeying at films of other teams. By the fall of 1977 the revolution had caught up to kindly H. Ballard, Maple Leafs owner and philosopher, who had signed a thinking man, Roger Neilson, as his coach. One day your agent settled beside the owner as he watched his team in a preseason practice.

"He'll be a great coach," the man said of his new employee. "He understands the God damn hedges."

Other owners poured into the revolution when the U.S. Olympic team (when the Soviets had crashed 10-3 a week before the Games) started everybody by beating the Soviets and winning the gold medal. The coach, Herb Brooks, was heralded as the tallest man in the known galaxy.

"Brooks is a member of the coaching fraternity's intelligentsia," wrote an informed poet. "He is an innovative player and analyst, a student of international hockey and a firm believer in modern coaching methods."

In due course the New York Rangers moved down Herb, who'd headed his skates at the University of Minnesota. A few weeks earlier the Winnipeg Jets had brought in Tim Warr, whose teaching bears had whored for 34 seasons back of the University of Toronto bench. The Jets took the Vancouver for a pair of exposure to the gadgetry of

Canadian coach Roger Neilson (two years of a guy who understood the God damn hedges were enough for H. Ballard).

Next thing you know, the man in charge of Calgary, Cliff Fletcher, has succumbed to the charms of the ny-critual walls. He recruited Bob Johnson, who since 1967 had done the only thing that counted for the University of Wisconsin's hockey team, Budger Bob, as The Calgary Ron's Pat Doyle labelled Johnson is a cheating coach that stuck, but coached the U.S. Olympic team in 1976, adding a Bronckson veneer.

But today, in spite of this ingestion of intellectual firepower, the teams that



are raising hell are not the ones coming off the drawing boards, they are the ones cindling and whirling, they are not drop-passing and crisscrossing, they are not employing skill and science. The teams that are sending their supporters happily into the night are Boston and Philadelphia and Chicago, whose deepest thinkers, from left to right, are Gerry Cheevers, Bob McCannan and Gerald Tesler, none of whom knows a dip-thong from a gerund or gives a damn that he doesn't.

The point is, the low-lit plans of heavy men don't appear to make much sense. The NHL, as we surely to press, the best of the new-wave thinkers is

Brooks, whose Rangers are 15th overall in the 21-team league. Right behind are Budger Bob, whose Flames are 15th, and Neilson, whose Canucks are 18th. Then it's Winnipeg Warr in 14th place.

The three leaders, Cheevers, McCannan and Tesler, have pursued varying paths to the top, none cerebral, all as old as beheading and as fundamental.

"Ball hockey," Cheevers said, "I damn how the hell it happened but somewhere along the line the guys got interested in keeping our goals down. The forwards started coming back, and that took the stress off the defence. Everybody got interested in Pele's winning streak."

Pete Peters is the goatherd, a string boss from Edmonton who ran up 21 unbeaten games. By the time it was broken he was in the ranking for the most valuable player.

"Touch penalties," said McCannan in Philadelphia. "They had to go. Especially the ones in the other team's end. That's just stupid."

The Broad Street Bullies haven't been that for several seasons, not the old raucous, infuriating shambles of Dave Schultz's era. But they still spent too many hours in the penalty box, and, aiming to stop it, McCannan knew that fans were meaningless to modern puck-raising photocredits. So, instead of taking their money, he took their playing time, players who drew petty penalties were benched.

"They're required to be on the job only a few hours a day," said Tesler, the current rookie coach at Chicago. "The least they can do is be ready to play and concentrate on their work."

Teaser is a stern, portly, balding man whose serious demeanor is the sort that usually induces people to lower their voices. He dispenses praise grudgingly. The players work hard for him in a disciplined, free-skating way.

If there is a pattern in the NHL today, it is one of senseless speed and grinding forechecking. Goals are usually the result of pressure in the defending team's zone. It is not a pretty game, not as pretty as the Soviet style of circling and circlingness. Bobby Clarke, the Philadelphia veteran, brings it all into perspective: "NHL coaches have discovered that the circle game is fine if a club has players with a high skill level, especially in passing the puck. Most clubs don't, so the swing is back to an up-and-down style. The NHL coaches are always used." So much for higher learning.



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Coming to terms with divorce

By Angela Ferrante

Divorce. When the end of a marriage finally comes, it can be remarkably swift, mechanical and bloodless. At 10:30 on a typical weekday, a county court judge takes her place on the dais below a royal coat of arms. Before her, black-gowned laywers push on long benches while their clients behold them eye each other nervously. One by one the petitioners approach the bench, and the judge, as the law requires, asks, "Do you think there is a chance of reconciliation?" Invariably the answer is "No." Then, in proceedings that run like clockwork, the judge, a series of times, asks that may have lasted from a few days to several decades is quietly dissolved. In court for uncontested divorces, the issues of children and property have already been settled. There is no public testimony or bickering. By noon 30 marriages that began with hope have ended with a stranger's legal decree and no visible signs of regret.

The scene unfolded in a Toronto courtroom last week before Judge Donna Haley. But, with minor modifications, the same drama took place in divorce courts across the country. By sheer force of numbers, Canadians are

taking divorce off the back streets, where it was once considered a symptom of questionable morality, and giving it Main Street respectability in a well-documented, 250-page study released last week. Statistics Canada underlined that fundamental shift in social attitudes with a shocking revelation—at the current rate, 40 per cent of all Canadian marriages will end in divorce, an astonishing 380-per-cent increase since the divorce laws were liberalized in 1968 (page 41).

'People are told they can have instant happiness, like instant food, and they take the idea into marriage'

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The pain and the disappointment are still there. No matter how much the process of getting a divorce is simplified, the collapse of a once-happy marriage is never easy to accept. When battles over children or assets are resolved, the ex-spouses are both painful and bankrupting. Still, as the new figures show, growing numbers of Canadians

are taking the chance to get out of marriages that no longer work. Divorce increasingly affects all social levels and all ages, although those who marry young are the most vulnerable. And it is the separation of couples at an earlier age, and after fewer years of marriage, that is at the heart of the still-burgeoning divorce rate. Says Rev. Don Paulsen, a Winnipeg United Church minister and marriage counselor, "People are told they can have instant happiness just like instant food, and they take that attitude into marriage."

Inevitably, such a revolution in values forces changes in legislation. And, reports Montreal's Mary Juregim, change is on the way: more than 100 divorce laws will likely be the major socioeconomic element in the Liberal government's divorce speech this spring. Justice Minister Mackenzie King is expected to introduce legislation reducing the minimum length of separation for a "no fault" divorce—which allows a couple to split up on the simple grounds of "marriage breakdown"—to one year from the current three years. That change would sharply alter the "adversarial" approach to divorce in which, once when both spouses feel their marriage has collapsed, one has to sue the other (usually for adultery, cruelty or

of social work at the University of Toronto. "It is my view that they reflect the fact that Canadians are becoming more honest. Before, people underwent only an emotional divorce. Now, more are choosing to make a legal one."

Equally, there are those who lament what they see as a vicious circle at work in modern society. "The phenomenon that disturbs me is a kind of desecrating of the general population to traditional moral values," says Bishop's Archbishop James Hynes. Negative influences, such as pornography, "are ab-

The proposed changes will be welcomed by lawyers and separating couples, who have long argued that Canada's divorce legislation punishes people already suffering from a major upheaval in their lives. "Once two people have decided they want a divorce," said Maria Smithson, a 30-year-old Oshawa, Ont., clerk who recently split custody of her five children with her former husband, "the legal hassles and the expense are just an added burden. They just don't send them on top of everything else."

Adultery. A divorcing couple's headaches were even worse before 1968, when virtually the only ground for divorce was adultery. Jane Gale, the twice-divorced editor of *Woman's World*, a Canadian women's magazine, said of her first divorce, 17 years ago: "In court there were all these women, who had to wear hats as a sign of respect to the judge, standing up and telling how they had committed adultery. It was terrible. You felt like a leper."

The legislation that MacGilligan is drafting is an attempt to catch up with the reality of the 1980s. And that reality extends to the country's top political leadership. Of the three national parties, only the Tories' Joe Clark still lives with his first wife. His leader Ed Broadbent is divorced and remarried, and Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau is separated (his Roman Catholic faith does not recognize a civil divorce). Many high-profile cabinet ministers, including John Roberts, Lloyd Axworthy, Rambo Lelland, John Munro and Francis Fox have been divorced or are separated.

For all their alarming implications, the new divorce statistics are a reflection of prevailing social attitudes. Moreover, there is a growing body of experts that even sees the numbers in a positive light. Many counselors and lawyers—and even clergymen—believe that divorce, traditionally considered a sign of social disintegration, may, in fact, signal a healthy adaptability, with the emergence of new types of families and new social groupings that may be more attuned to people's real needs. "I am not alarmed at these statistics," says Regenerat Solisberger, a professor

of social work at the University of Toronto. "It is my view that they reflect the fact that Canadians are becoming more honest. Before, people underwent only an emotional divorce. Now, more are choosing to make a legal one."

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During the 1970s the number of single-parent households increased by 50 per cent, from 425,000 to 637,000, and the increase in that kind of family structure is expected to outnumber all others within 30 years. With a lower birthrate, a shrinking family size and an increase in the number of couples who choose to remain childless, the nuclear family, like 1960s romance, is moving into the realm of nostalgia. As the Statistics Canada study concludes: "Like it or not, we are in the age of the relativistic family in which change might not

necessarily be bad but rather a different point of view."

Sociologists and other experts in the field are generally quick to agree. Bette Thompson, a former Halifax lawyer who handled many divorce cases and is now the executive director of Dalhousie Legal Aid, says a Canadian is experiencing a "very long shift in the structure of the family, from an extended family to nuclear family, to single parent, to restructured family." And even the children, generally regarded as victims in the sociological debate, will

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PHOTO BY GUY LAWRENCE



likely be better off in the long run, he says. "It creates stigma, there is no doubt about that, but it becomes more common, you will probably find kids adjusting to it much better."

Test attitudes inhaled up by 16-year-old Sara Ramsey, for one. A Winnipeg high school student whose parents were divorced when he was just 4, Ramsey now says "I get along with my step-father. I can handle my situation." But he acknowledges that it was easier for him than it might have been in the early grades, "because so many children came from similar backgrounds."

Less stigma. The effect of a family breakup on the children, nevertheless, remains a significant factor, even in today's laissez-faire social climate. "New there is definitely less stigma, and usually there are other children in the class who have been through the same thing," says Carolyn Hargrave, a psychologist at the Atlantic Child Guidance Centre in Dartmouth, N.S. "But I do think that children will always react to their parents not being together, especially if they are at an age to remember the break." One problem many sociologists measure is the social isolation that Black of Winnipeg's Child Guidance Clinic is, a feeling of guilt.

have talked to children from divorced or separated homes, and they keep wondering and asking the question if they were to blame," he says.

Like the family, the institution of marriage, although somewhat changed, seems to be surviving the boom in divorces. More than three-quarters of Canadians who are divorced choose to remarry. Two-divorced Toronto sociologist Peter Kivlase says that the next step will likely be for people to have a "series of marriages"—a system known as serial monogamy—which will give them "greater freedom and diversity." Canadian Raymond Ali, a Winnipeg family counsellor who increasingly finds himself advising couples not on how to live together but on how to separate, "People are not seeing marriage any longer as a lifelong commitment. Overall, I think that may be a sign of health rather

than sickness in a society."

Divorce, meanwhile, has become so ingrained in the Canadian way of life that it is now big business. In the past decade Canadians paid lawyers about \$500 million to arrange their divorces. A basic uncontested divorce can easily cost between \$600 and \$1,000 in legal fees. There are self-help books with such titles as *Creative Divorce* and *What Every Woman Should Know About Marriage, Separation and Divorce*. Do-it-yourself divorce kits—costing from \$8.99 to \$14.95—are increasingly popular in British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba and Ontario. In the United States, always at the cutting edge of social trends, couples about to get married are now taken out divorce insurance. The policy guarantees alimony payments, child support and maintenance in the event of a separation or divorce. With default of divorce settlement payments running at 35 per cent in the United States (and with 70 per cent of agreements in arrears in Canada, according to 1976 figures), insurance may become as prevalent as wedding gifts.

One New York City celebrity lawyer, Basil Felder, nicknamed "the bomber" for his ability to get big divorce settlements for wives of rich men, says bluntly that the big firms are moving

into divorce litigation as a security. "They know that's where the bucks are," Felder points out that even people making modest incomes can be forced into paying large settlements. "Let's take the case of a man who owns a small deli and makes, say, \$200 a week," he explains. "Now you have to take into account the assets of his store, his stock. It's not so simple, all of a sudden so might be talking about a \$100,000 case."

AMATEURISM. Divorce has also spawned hundreds of counselling services offered by churches, voluntary organizations and even exemplars. The Canadian membership of such groups, Parents Without Partners, has risen steadily during the past decade to about 5,000. The 19-year-old One Parent Families Association of Canada has 48 chapters and 1,000 members. In Winnipeg the YWCA will soon launch a program with a toll-free 1-855-AMATEURISM for Women Going Through Divorce or Separation. In Vancouver 28-year-old Mimi Bellini is pleased with the weekly Divorce Life group meetings she attended for six months while her 13-year-old marriage was breaking down. Says the mother of two, "My life has steadily improved, and right now I would say it's pretty well perfect."

In Halifax one Roman Catholic priest, who has just finished training for a full-time role as a marriage counsellor, and three social workers have set up a counselling office in a church building. Says Archbishop Hayes: "There have been so many calls on priests everywhere that we realized there had to be some opportunity for people who were doing this on more than a part-time basis." And a Calgary organization known as the Singles Council, which is partly funded by the city, has attracted 500 members. About 98 per cent of them are trying to rebuild their lives and make new social connections after a divorce.

Although Canadians are witnessing a divorce explosion, the formal dissolution of marriage is anything but a modern phenomenon. In fact, it is the social disapproval of divorce that is new. The Semetars had a system of divorce in 3000 B.C. and under both the Roman and Jewish tradi-

Easing the way out of marriage

If the federal government introduces a no-fault divorce this spring, as expected, the news will be the culmination of a long process aimed at removing blame from marriage breakdown. Traditionally, marriage in Canada was a binding legal contract that was virtually indismissible unless one partner could prove that adultery had been committed (Quebec and Newfoundland at one time even required an act of Parliament to dissolve a marriage). The law eventually required that, before a marriage ended, there was a guilty party. As a result, many couples whose marriages had simply

dated for at least three years before divorce proceedings could even begin, a revolutionary concept had at least been introduced in Canadian law, in some divorces neither partner was to blame. Some unions, the legislation acknowledged, simply no longer worked.

In 1966 the Law Reform Commission urged the government to expand the no-fault concept. It advocated that marriage breakdown should be the only ground for divorce and suggested that dissolution could be made possible after a separation of only six months. The Canadian Bar Association took a middle course, voting support for a six-year

in 1970.) Still, the new rules vary dramatically across the country. In some provinces the laws cover all assets acquired during a marriage. But other provinces exclude from automatic division certain business, or non-family, assets.

In cases where the jointly property and custody issues are not in dispute, divorce, since 1968, has been a relatively straightforward matter. Even so, there are still "uncontested" cases, like the straightened case, have had to be taken to court, often resulting in as much as \$1,000 in legal fees. One effect of these costs has been a large drain on prom-



collapsed were reduced to conceding false tales of adultery to win the legal right to part.

Then, in 1968, in response to the changing social conventions of the time, the newly elected government of Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau substantially loosened Canada's restrictive divorce laws. The new act made divorce much easier to obtain by expanding the grounds to include, among other things, mental and physical cruelty, sexual abuse, alcoholism and brutality. Although that was an improvement for victims of the specific wrongs, the law still enshrined the notion that the collapse of a marriage was the result of some misconduct or wrongdoing. But the exception was covered under a dramatic new provision—that a divorce could be granted simply due to "marriage breakdown." Although the new rule stipulated that the couple be sepa-

rating period—the previous federal government is expected to adopt within the next few months.

Removing the concept of blame from divorce has widely reduced courtroom melodrama. Now the actual grounds for divorce are rarely contested. But battles still flare over equally sticky issues—custody and access to children, division of property and support payments. These issues have become a major political issue, particularly since the celebrated *Marshall* case a decade ago. The Supreme Court of Canada in 1978 denied the Turner Valley, Alta., woman her claim to half the value of her husband's ranch, although she had worked alongside him during 25 years of marriage.

Provincial governments since then have established provisions for the equal distribution of property (Quebec had already pioneered such legisla-

tion legal aid plans. As a result, the legal aid committee of the Toronto-based Law Society of Upper Canada argued last January that the court requirement be abolished in cases of uncontested divorce. The issue was destined to cut some lawyers' incomes, and the Law Society, the legal profession's self-regulating body, initially rejected it, although it eventually endorsed the recommendation last month. Now it seems likely that the federal government's expected overhaul of the divorce laws will eliminate the requirement of a court appearance in uncontested divorces. Only 15 years since divorce was a rare and much-ridden act, Canadians may soon be able to terminate a failed marriage in just one year, without going to court—and without being forced to feel as badly about themselves.

—LINDA MOQUAO
in Toronto

tion divorce was developed as a sort of institutional escape hatch, a means of protecting husbands from undermining their wives when marriage became state. It was only with the advent of Christianity, when marriage became a religious sacrament as well as a civil contract between a man and a woman, that the idea of an indissoluble union was introduced.

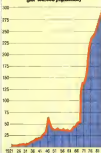
Several attempts to loosen the restrictions on divorce have been made in recent centuries (most notably after the French and Russian revolutions) but they were reversed in later, more conservative eras. First in the Western world to adopt more business divorce laws were the Scandinavians in the 1880s. The United Kingdom introduced no-fault divorce in 1969, while in the United States all but two states agreed to a no-fault system during the past 10 years.

In the midst of an international flurry of legislation, Canada was not alone with its spiralling divorce rate. With 2.4 divorces per 1,000 marriages in 1977, Canada ranked behind Denmark with 2.5, the United Kingdom with 2.6, the Soviet Union with 3.4 and far behind the United States with its staggering five per thousand.

New statistics: Compared to other nations, Canada's divorce rate traditionally has been low. There was one sharp burst after the Second World War, when many quick wartime marriages fell apart. But in the subsequent decades, after the turmoil of the Depression and two wars, families seemingly wanted nothing more than a tranquil, prosperous and stable life. By the 1960s a new generation of young people was growing up, oblivious to public concern and unconcerned with self-fulfillment than with commitment. Then, when the influence of religious institutions declined and the desire for material goods was satisfied for an increasingly large number of people, the young began searching for a different level of quality of life.

That rebellion was accompanied by an almost cavalier shedding of old norms and the emergence, according to Rev. Ken Barnes, a Vancouver Anglican priest, of "a waste society." He adds, "We throw away our plastic cups and our cars, our clothes and our wives." There are others who believe that family

Divorces in Canada
(per 100,000 population)



life has been undermined particularly by the growing numbers of young people going to work. Even working women without children often find that their marriages cannot withstand the strain of competing careers. Says Marie Kesteven, a 38-year-old Toronto store manager who recently ended her 20-year marriage: "I was always in a position of making more money, but when my job changed to more of a career it threatened my marriage." The fact that Canadians live longer may also be a major cause of divorce. Notes Vancouver

psychiatrist Michael Myers: "In the past your husband would be the before you had to get rid of him."

Properly, too, can make marriage more difficult to maintain. Bubbly family life is not always easily adapted to the fast life of a prosperous society. The divorce rate in rural Canada is half that of the big cities. And, in a regional sense, the rate is lowest in the financially struggling Atlantic provinces, while well-to-do British Columbia and Alberta are at the top of the divorce list. The problem seems to be one of great expectations followed by great disappointments. Don Kurek, executive director of the Calgary Family Service Bureau, says that many of the young couples who migrated to the prosperous West had unworkable dreams of a new life. They thought "the grass is greener out here—all things are going to be better, including their marriage, which may or may not have been in trouble already."

Even if divorces do become unappealing, they will continue to exert a high emotional toll. A marriage breakdown produces a feeling of failure, of not having lived up to an ideal. Accepting the end of a personal dream can be a long, agonizing process. For 21-year-old Beverly Simpson, a secretary with the Maxwell gown outfit, there was a period of deterioration before she would accept the end of her nine-year marriage two years ago. Her husband never consulted her, even on major decisions, she says. Even after he sold their Winnipeg home and moved his wife and young son to St. Andrew,

a small community on the Red River, she says she continued to try to make the marriage work. But there was no prize to pay. "I became very nervous. I lost my self-esteem, my self-confidence. All I did was cry all the time," she said. The end came when she was pregnant with her second child. A neighbor told her that her husband was seeing another woman. Five days after the baby was born, Simpson went to court, where her divorce was granted on the grounds of adultery.

When a marriage is finally over, even a difficult marriage, the vic-

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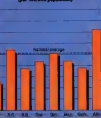
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Divorce rates in 1980
(per 100,000 population)



times of the breakdowns are often burdened with remorse and feel as over-whelming sense of guilt—especially if they are found to be at fault." When Toronto helicopter pilot Steve Monroe, 34, left his wife a year ago, he blamed himself and felt "she couldn't do anything wrong." But a feeling of resentment developed later when his wife was support payments for his kids. "I feel because I'm male I'm being punished, especially because I originally left," said Monroe.

When the tempest of emotions caused by divorce clears, however, most are prepared to try marriage again.

"Today I am a positive person," says Simpson. "I was terribly negative when I was with my husband and I cried all the time. No one should have to live with that. I think I stayed too long." Likewise, family therapist Keith Marlowe, himself divorced, says he detects a much more positive attitude in the divorcee population than he gives. "The people in the divorce courts from marriages that were less bitter, less intense, less destructive than marriages from the past. People seem to look at marriage more positively," he says. "They have more optimism about relationships ahead. People want to make sense of the experience of divorce."

For some, the benefits of divorce are immediately apparent. "There is a sense of relief. It is the culmination of things falling apart for many years," says John Smith, 47, a Bedford, N.S., civil engineer. Smith was divorced last July after a six-year separation and he has custody of two of their three teenagers. "With all the opinions, you of course finish up with something missing—having someone who cares for you. You compensate for that, your children become your beneficiaries in that compensation."

Martin Siciliana, who attended a 10-week course at an Oakville community college, says it helped her get over the "black-and-white, right-or-wrong" of her husband. She says she found it gratifying that she felt for the men in the course. "It was very helpful to get a man's perspective," Siciliana recalls. "I didn't re-

alize they had the same problems in coping—with the kids, financially—as women did."

Counseling. The challenge now facing many couples is one of trying to anticipate and prevent future essential problems before the marriage is even formalized. Sociologist Schlesinger says that "the answer lies in making marriage harder to enter into and divorce easier to get." Adds Paschke: "In a way, I think these shocking divorce statistics may serve a positive purpose if they get people thinking more about the problems of marriage." Many churches and synagogues already require newlyweds to take premarriage counseling courses, and initial indications are that

they serve, which offers premarriage courses, says the aim is to force couples to think twice about what they are doing. "We anticipate there might be more breakups before the marriage instead of after as a result of these courses," she says. "Often there is a decision not to marry based on what they hear in the course."

In the past, as burgeoning divorce statistics were published, they caused dire predictions about the future of society. The latest figures, although by far the most alarming, have been accepted pragmatically. The unavoidable implication is that divorce is being accepted as a part of the Canadian fabric, and no amount of head-wringing can alter that old fact. Psychologists and sociologists, and even the pessimists, are instead talking about how to survive divorce, how to make it less traumatic, especially for the most hapless bystanders—the children. As with any extreme upheaval in an individual's life—divorcees often talk about the ending of a marriage in the same terms as they discuss the death of a close friend—there can be no underestimating the sense of grief and the needed period of mourning. But they are also beginning to talk with a newfound sense of optimism. After all, they are not alone, or even in a small minority.

In addition, many experts believe that the accelerating rate of divorce may begin to slow down. Karst thinks that as people begin to look for greater stability in their lives, the number of breakups will slowly decrease. Paschke agrees.

that the pendulum, once swinging away from an overly restrictive notion of marriage, is now tilting back to a "more reasonable position." And Schlesinger insists that the majority of marriages are still surviving. "More Canadian families are lasting than blaring," he says. "Where has trend in the 1970s was the 'me generation,' the 1980s will be the decade of the family."

With Michael Chapiro in Halifax, Anne Barrow in Montreal, Mary-Joyce in Ottawa, and Christine in Toronto, Christine Carleton-Gordon and Peter Carleton-Gordon in Toronto, Susan Berman in Calgary, Diane Landon in Vancouver and Ann Christopher in New York.



A taste for classics.



Tia Maria
T-I-M-E-L-E-S-S

A confrontation on the white man's turf

By Linda Diebel

On the eve of this week's historic First Ministers' Conference on aboriginal rights, the federal government released a double report about the condition of native peoples—the kind of report to which successive Canadian governments have named the study by the Canadian Council on Social Development said that Indian children as reserves are five times more likely than white children to be taken from their families by welfare authorities. The starkness of that statistic and the even grimmer studies that show the suicide rate among Indian youth is six times higher than their white counterparts were in sharp contrast to the political and theoretical will to negotiate most of the two-day Ottawa event.

Indeed, native leaders feared that instead of identifying the first steps toward a path out of the familiar landscape of their peoples' misery, the conference would be little more than agree to hold another. Some called a lawyer for the Inuit. "We feel we are going to a rescue, not to a solid conference." And some native leaders openly acknowledged that they would have difficulty in the future preventing violence among the young if some progress cannot be achieved. Certainly the representatives of Canada's estimated 1.5 million native people have cause to be suspicious. In November, 1981, in the corner-stone dealing among federal and provincial politicians trying to reach a relative constitutional agreement, the rights of native peoples were sacrificed. And even though, after growing protests, a clause was reinserted several weeks later that recognized their "existing" rights, some leaders were more. They wanted the conference to initiate a process leading to an amended Constitution, guaranteeing their special status with rights different from other Canadians. And they wanted their rights to be entrenched so that they will never again be vulnerable to the expedient whims of politicians.

The Canadian Constitution Act of 1982 made this week's conference possible. Not only is it the first time that the Constitution can be amended in Canada, it is also, according to the roughly 1,000 native leaders and observers who planned to attend, the first time that Indian, Inuit and Métis people will negotiate their place within Confederation. But these lofty aims (and a number of obstacles. Among them a

majority of power struggles between the federal government and the provinces over who will have to give up what to the natives, a perceived lack of commitment among the white leaders in their dealings with native aspirations, political disputes among native leaders themselves) and self-destructive schemes within their organizations

finally accommodate native people. But the central difficulty is the inability of Canadian politicians to come to grips with the central question: what, if anything, do the majority of Canadians owe aboriginal people?

That questioning is so acute that must be addressed and resolved in a favorable manner, say native leaders, if not at this conference, then soon. Otherwise, they say, violence could replace enlightened state-sanctioning. Declared George Witta, the 35-year-old president of the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council on Vancouver Island. "If we don't get anywhere, there is a very dangerous generation out there which is soon going to lose patience and resort to violence. Indian people will take the road to confrontation. Sitting in a jail is so worse than sitting on a reservation."

Even Mark Gordon, 39, who is widely viewed as a well-measured, well-prepared negotiator for the 35,000, registered the prime minister's search for the talks failed to make some promise of future progress. "There is a very pessimistic generation growing up in the North whose politics are far more radical than mine," he said. "They will know the government is their enemy."

The prospects of compromise were generally dimmed at best. Many provincial governments (whose Crown lands would become part of almost any potential land claims settlement) refuse to acknowledge that any debt is owed at all. Still, federal officials involved in native issues hoped that this conference would enable them to begin to determine precisely what is owed, then to take what one federal negotiator described as "a good, hard look at what that means." Indeed, a senior official in Senator Jack Austin's social development ministry suggested that the whole concept of "debt" is wrong. "It is a matter of recognizing the native's legitimate place in society as the people who were here first," he says. "But it would be wrong for white people to see this as a guilt trip." The native leaders, however, he added, do not frame their demands in terms of righting moral wrongs but rather as giving economic rights and compensation for violated treaties.

Another stumbling block is the way of achieving a compromise: the infamously rhetoric that decries the possibility of awakening greater public understanding of the issues. The very language, in turn, reflects a profound minimal which is the product of more than a century of broken promises during which the federal government tried first to conquer, then assimilate and

then assimilate native people. But the central difficulty is the inability of Canadian politicians to come to grips with the central question: what, if anything, do the majority of Canadians owe aboriginal people?

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Paul Joffe, a lawyer for the Northern Quebec Inuit, disagreed. "You can talk all you want about giving them a land base, an economic base and cultural values," said Joffe. "But remember, as a people their language and culture have deteriorated to the point where

they are fighting for their very survival."

The chairman of this week's negotiations is Ontario's Governor-General, a high-ranking, marble-columned former railway station, with Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, whose presence was to be Justice Minister Mark McGeeney, Indian and Northern Affairs Minister John Manors and the premier, including Alberta's Peter Lougheed. The Alberta leader endorsed November 1981 a final constitutional planning that used the contentious word "existing" where describing aboriginal and treaty rights. "We have tried to find out what the government means by 'existing rights,'" and before Association of Alberta President Charles Wood. "The closest we have been able to get is that they consider existing rights to be hunting, fishing and trapping. We think our rights are a hell of a lot more than that."

Problems considered more sympathetic to native rights include Ontario's William Davis, Manitoba's Howard Pawley and New Brunswick's Richard Hatfield. Hatfield believes in the law, and as soon as our rights were recognized he came around. He is not afraid to change his mind. "The wild card is Quebec Premier René Lévesque, who last week privately told native leaders that he would not discuss aboriginal rights. Still, his opinions will have a considerable effect because he refuses to recognize the validity of the constitutional negotiating process itself."

On the native side, the key figures include 39-year-old David Anderson, who is national chief of the Assembly of First Nations, which represents to approximately 225,000 legally recognized or so-called status Indians. Anderson (Shuswap) Shuswap, a 34-year-old Métis from northwestern Ontario with Ojibwa roots, is president of the Native Council of Canada (NCC). He came to speak for more than a million Métis and associates Indians. And Charlie Watt, 37, a veteran negotiator in the long struggle to win the 1975 James Bay and Northern Quebec agreement, is co-chairman of the last Committee on Native Lands, representing 20,000 Inuit.

The divergence of native aspirations reflects their



equally divergent positions on the issues. But the three native groups share broad objectives. For one thing, they want an entrenched existing process to define aboriginal rights so that their future will not be forgotten after the conference. For another, they want a statement of explicit rights, which

would include language and culture guarantees, the ability to define membership (ignoring the arbitrary labels of the Indian Act) and land rights, based on traditional use or occupancy. They are also seeking a regional land base with a measure of control over resource development, some form of self-government and the enforcement in the Constitution of self-interest. At the same time, the natives propose a federal program of payments to ensure equal opportunities, economic development and such essential services as housing, schools and nursing care. They do not want the funds haphazardly funneled through provincial authorities—which they distrust. And they want to be consulted—some insist upon the right of consent—before any constitutional changes affecting their lives are made.

The Constitution Act spelled out the broad rules for the conference and specified that it should include the "identification and definition of the rights" of the aboriginal peoples. Still, as Mary Simon, spokeswoman for the Quebec Inuit force of aboriginal peoples on the Constitution, said, "Whenever we tried to talk about rights with governments over the past year, they looked as if we were crazy."

"Rights? You want to talk about that?" he asked. "We're talking about basic, unbreakable principles." Consequently, the specific commitment in the Constitution to deal with our rights at the conference is unlikely to be met. "The Constitution poses other problems as well. It requires the provision that any amendment to the Constitution must be accepted by the federal government and seven out of 10 provinces representing 50 percent of the population. Any change in the amending formula to allow for native consent would require unanimity. Commented lawyer Jeffe: "Some necessary provisions will be getting on the square because they control the amending formula. They can ensure there are no threatening native gains." Davis privately confided to Ontario native leaders in January that he believed "very little" could be accomplished in the talks.

The atmosphere of suspicion that preceded the conference was flayed by a confidential memo leaked to the Canadian Press in January. It was written

Anderson and portrait of Metis leader (David) Anderson (right) Jim Sinclair (right) and lawyer at meeting said Joffe.



official. Dennis Marantz and sent to Senator Austin MacLean works in the federal justice relations office, an arm of the Prime Minister's Office, and Austin had a central role in organizing the conference. The memo recommended that Ottawa use the talks as a means of "reducing native expectations" and "ambitious provincial governments in the process of discussion and perhaps negotiations." Observed NCC President Brynne: "They're playing their games. It just shows you where their commitment is."

The native groups themselves have lost their chances of success by their own internal feuds. Chiefs representing

The political damage caused by the discussion worsened when both federal and provincial politicians became involved in the spotlight. "We make it clear that we fully support the [native] Métis having their representatives at the conference," said Saskatchewan Attorney General Gary Leach. "They represent a large segment of the native population and therefore cannot be left out of the process." To complicate the dispute further, until recently Jim Sinclair held one of the NCC seats on a rotating basis with three other NCC board members. He lost the organization's support after he told federal Justice Minister MacGilligan that Métis claims were based not on aboriginal

what rightfully belongs to them." Other native leaders feared the public discord will harm their cause. The Western provinces will receive the most benefit from Métis demands, according to a Métis leader. "As far as the Alberta Métis [interests] are concerned, I think they have just been snubbed by Peter Lougheed," he said. "Elmer Gosselinger tells us that the provincial government will give the Métis everything they want. It is a sad joke." For Mary Hesson it was essential to have unity. "The Constitution deals with fundamental rights which are universal to aboriginal people," she said. "Our differences could have been worked out on another level at a later date." For his



Chief Wayne Christian (left) of Shawap Indian band in 1991 confrontation with Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau: cult trip

16,000 Alberta Indians labelled the meeting a "hoax" before it began, and New Brunswick Indian leader Guy David Nicholas refused to participate in what he called a "manipulative conference." However, the most potentially damaging dispute involves a Métis split caused by regional and social passions. A breakaway group initially led by Alberta Métis leader Elmer Gosselinger, Sam Sinclair and Saskatchewan Métis Association President Jim Sinclair (with Manitoba Métis support) fled far in objection to stop the conference. They claimed that the national alliance of non-native Indians and Métis did not represent their views. From notes. Said Jim Sinclair: "The NCC has turned into a melting pot of leftover Indians"

rights but rather on the concept of Métis nationalism. To NCC members like Terry Belcourt, himself an Alberta native, Sinclair's statement was blasphemous. To give up the position of aboriginal rights—a concept already recognized in the Constitution—and bargain on the basis of Métis nationalism is, he says, "very foolish." Meanwhile, some of the Métis demands formed the White National Council and lobbied MacGilligan to give them a voice at the First Ministers' Conference. Their efforts succeeded late last week, when the minister gave the breakaway group a non-binding seat in exchange for dropping demands to win an executive. Saskatchewan Métis leader Glen Charrier noted, "The Métis have finally won

part, Métis spokesman Tony Belcourt was concerned that after the conference politicians would charge that the participants could not make progress because the natives were unable to agree on their objectives.

The bitter taste of past failures also cast a damper on the current talks. The examples of injustice against the natives are manifold. In 1980—five years after the signing of the historic 1925-office James Bay land compensation agreement—a lack of health, education and municipal services provided by the federal and Quebec governments became so desperate that two Cree babies died from gastroenteritis. Then, a 1988 federal report called settlement conditions for the James Bay Cree "deplorable."

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able" and affirmed an appalling lack of sanitation. In another case of missed potential, the approximately 480 Muskoka Indians of northeastern Quebec have become alienated from the federal government. The Muskoka opposed the James Bay hydroelectric project's flooding of their traditional lands and, when they learned how to negotiate, they won a \$15-million settlement to build a new reserve 13 km from, and dependent upon, the town of Schefferville, Que. The recently announced closing of the Iron Ore Co. of Canada's operations has put the town in jeopardy and

the Muskoka future bleak. The young natives will not wait forever to reach a settlement of their claims: life expectancy for Indians under a year old is approximately 10 years shorter than that of the regional population, and post-neonatal mortality (between four weeks and one year) is twice the national average. Neonatal mortality (within the first 28 days) is 60 per cent higher. Accidents, poisoning and violence are the leading causes of death for Indians (36 per cent of all deaths) and heart (30 per cent), according to the latest federal health statistics.

These deaths accounted for 239.9 deaths per 100,000 Indians and 189.7 per 100,000 Inuit, compared to 70 such deaths per 100,000 Canadians generally. The real measure of the natives' anger that solutions to their ills can be found only through constitutional changes giving native people greater control over their own lives. They contend that as a result of government intervention, even the recent bright spots on the native horizon have dimmed. They snuff at such federal attempts to modify them as the \$40-million Native Trust Fund that was announced in late 1981 and never delivered. Details of the fund are still being debated among government officials.

Convinced politicians to exercise control of native affairs to the natives themselves will be only the first step toward a settlement. Said R.C. Indian Chief George Wiatie: "[Control] makes white people nervous. They think that we are going to lock them off their land and pile them into planes and back to Europe. It's just not true." Native leaders are particularly upset by the outcry that greeted William Dief's bid to resolve a Kenora-area conflict between treaty fishing rights and provincial regulations in the native-farmer Ontario sportswriters denounced the announcement, and environmental protectionists angrily opposed the scheme. In that case the issue was merely a dispute concerning fishing rights, not the sovereignty for more environmental Indian settlements.

The opportunity to make real and lasting changes to the fabric of native life was never more within reach than during the First Ministers' Conference. Most observers agreed in advance that the politicians had a historic opportunity to begin to reverse a century of government policy that at best represented bleeding-heart bandaging and, at worst, dedicated racism. Last week Inuit lawyer Joffe outlined the activist's most cherished goal: "If we could only come up with the wording to an insignificant amendment, we would really have accomplished something," he said. "It would be a major step forward." Still, he was pessimistic. The challenge to the nation's statement was nothing less than to ensure that the history of slavery that clouded significant issues with petty political scolding. But, as native leaders like Inuit Mark Gordon pointed out, "It is urgent that they do so because, for the young, time is running out."

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Now, as long as you are not who's doing the thinking, why does self-consciousness bother you? It's not as scary as it seems. It's just a little bit of self-consciousness. And that's okay. You can fix that.

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Saturday Night and Sunday morning

By George Bain

In the February issue of *Saturday Night*, Robert Pallard, editor and a long-standing pillar of the Canadian culture industry, reads a passage from the Aglaia report and gives a loud, superfluous yell.

Linda Aglaia and Jacques Hallett, the authors of this report on Canadian cultural policy, had made what must have seemed to them a common-sense and applicable reference to the underrepresentation of women in cultural agencies. "We should like to draw special attention," they said, "to the fact that the present negligible access of women to all levels of responsibility and activity in the cultural sector deprives Canadian society as a whole of a vital dimension of human and artistic experience."

Nothing, surely, could be safer than that. But, as it seems to say, if it says anything," said Pallard sternly. "That women should be appointed in numbers equal to men on the Canada Council and other boards and on the juries these boards appoint. . . . That would amount to what the Americans call 'affirmative action,' a dangerous concept that would inject nonartistic criteria into artistic judgments."

True, true—and merely the latest of many illustrations of the selfish nature of those of us in the media, a quality that means us to run about our own narrow concerns, the better to preserve for others.

Even as Pallard wrote, the National Magazine Awards Foundation, of which he is a member of the board of directors, was squabbling over what to do about the nominating criteria that have been imposed into its own artistic judgments.

Just as Aglaia was prepared to resist to affirmative action to adjust the male-female balance in cultural agencies and juries, so the magazine people have been following the same dangerous concept to effect some adjustment in the French-English balance—and for the same reason: to achieve a larger social purpose. In the case of the National Magazine Awards, it has been to "maintain the bilingual nature of the awards" and "to reflect the nature of the country" in the face of the evident fact that there are many more English-language entries than French.

A 1982 report of the judging committee said that there would be four final-

ists in all categories. "There would be one English-language and two French-language finalists, should there be sufficient number of entries in a given category for two French-language finalists. The committee recommends this bilingual structure regardless of the possibility that there may be only one or two French-language entries in some categories."

The number of finalists put forward for gold and silver awards from the first-tier judging has been increased since to three of each, and it has been emphasized anew that the bilingual jury that makes the final choice must pick two English-language winners, or two French, in any category. It is recognized that the system is still mathematically unfair and that it will tend to produce a disproportionate number of French-language honorable mentions, if nothing else, but a measure of inequality has been accepted to safeguard the bilingual nature of the awards.

By no means has all the grieving about judging in the awards—the ceremony at Toronto's Harbour Centre Hilton May 12 will be the much-beset about the hard-and-soft-gold line, however, one exhibit arrangement for picking French and English finalists. For instance, this year some judges have been recruited from the United States to help meet the problem of finding enough judges who clearly are deeply involved with magazines and equally clearly not deeply involved with any of the entries.

Reconciling numerical fairness with a bilingual policy remains difficult—and it has produced oddities, such as the French-language entry that went to the finals nominated for gold as the best in its category, which undeniably it was, being the only one, and the story, written in English, but published also in French, that failed to get a nomination in the writer's native tongue—but got a silver in French.

None of this, nationally, has had much public reflection—further illustration of the outward-looking nature of those of us in the media, who habitually refrain from bringing our own affairs into the limelight, including even our personal high-minded dilemmas with dangerous exceptions, so as not to distract the public gaze from the more deserving affairs of others. Noble is the word, noble.



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Sex, art and a fatal fall

MASTER BUILDER

Adapted from Henrik Ibsen by
John Kessel
Directed by Bill Glasco

Master Builder is Henrik Ibsen's most personal play, an artistic reconstruction of his unassimilated passion at the age of 61 for 38-year-old Rinde. The relationship lasted a summer, and they never met again. But in Master Builder Ibsen imagines a reunion 10 years later. Letters published after his death show that the playwright changed important details. Rinde was, in fact, far more vibrant and less cunning than Ibsen's Rinde. John Kessel's ambivalent adaptation at Toronto's Tarragon Theatre strips away those artifices to expose the timeless tensions of the real relationship between Henrik and Rinde. At the same time, such a treatment writes a more seductive tragedy than Ibsen's realistic country-dwelling room. Arrid Juarez's high-tech set, with its half-historic Lezlie panels and triangular playing area, appropriately

heightens the emotional intensity of Ibsen's psychodrama.

Little of Ibsen's story has been changed. Master Builder is about sexual and creative impotence, and its symbolism could not be more blatant. Ten years before the play begins, the desperate architect Solness (Douglas Jaku) evicted a church tower and followed the notion of starting a youth upon it. That same night, after meeting Rinde (Linda Griffiths), he renounced churches and towers for houses. Now, however, he is just about to complete a spire on his once newly built house, which his hollow marriage to Alina (Claire Coulter) will never transform into a home. Solness calls himself a bird and he has virtually enslaved an engaged couple in his employ. The stoody, bearded Kazi incinerates that image, not just physically but also in the moment, still self-awareness that he imports to Solness' unshelvingly aptitude. Then Rinde unexpectedly arrives to claim his love by reconciling him to Solness and urging him to crown his tower again at the risk of his life, she becomes

an angel of death.

In Ibsen's version, Rinde is a virginal, unassimilated analogue of youthful exuberance, precocious wisdom and sexual hysteria. Griffiths' energy and manifest optimism generally sustain her except in the long-winded second-act debates with Solness, where Ibsen has focused on Solness' tormented soul at the expense of Rinde's emotional nature. Because the adaptation makes Rinde less of an enterprising vamp, Alina's jealousy makes more sense. But Coulter, despite her peculiar vocal mannerisms, powerfully embodies Alina's mad-dam resignation.

For Ibsen, Solness' fatal fall is the most obvious of his sexuality and art. Master Builder rides on climax throughout, and director Bill Glasco has skillfully orchestrated Ibsen's colloquial rhythms and Harry Price's evocative lighting into climactic crescendo. But the scenes often lack suspense, shuffling when they should either stand firm or strike. And the production could take even more risks, however, especially in the staging of effects like the scene-overs that convey the hypnotic mind control latent in Solness' character. Nevertheless, Ibsen and Glasco have cut deeply into the body of Ibsen's experience to reveal its pulsating, melodramatic heart.

—MARK CLEGG

Goodness quivers and evil delivers

THE ART OF WAR

Written and directed by
George F. Walker

With *The Art of War*, the most theatrical trifle by George F. Walker steering private sex Tyrone Power, the playwright's grand drama is finally apparent. The new work, expands *Goosey* and *Public Enemy* into the kind of television mini-series that might have resulted if ACT had produced *M*A*S*H*. However, *The Art of War* is little more than a tedious exercise in witless in which all emotions, ideas and morality are ordered by syncretistic cleverness.

But perhaps it is foolish to expect more from the series than pseudo-phreatic stream. For starters, there is no story. John Blackman (David Fox), an assassin and former adviser to the Canadian minister of defense, has become a political embarrassment because of his endorser support of Third World fascist regimes. Demoted to the culture ministry, he continues his subversion and postulates on culture in death camp-meets-theater style. "The



For culture as superficial spectacle

best art is the art of superficial spectacle," he declares, providing a self-judging disclaimer for the entire production. Tyrone Power (David Fox), a liberal journalist turned feckless private eye, is on a crusade to wipe the Blackman from the face of the earth. While Blackman plays cat and mouse with him, their intellectual debates are full of bombast, vainly attempting to fill Walker's hollow universe. Guns always make their point, however. Power does eventually get Blackman at his mercy but he cannot pull the trigger. The

play's end moral is that goodness quivers while evil delivers. "It's so depressing," moans a sagging Power, noting to do better next time.

The production is a showcase of wasted talent. The members of the cast, all talented Washington, are excellent. Their timing is perfect, and as his own director Walker knows precisely how to vary pace for maximum effect. His quips can be truly witty, make more a deputy minister all its own in Blackman's minority, but Power signals. There are only 10 minutes. Blackman just moves them around. What's all the fuss? And Blackman shows that evil does not have to be brutal. The only character granted a distinctive note, thanks to Fox's roaring performance, he becomes a detour of desire. Action is a desert of dialogue. But

Walker's typically cinematic script (90 minutes long, Blackman, no incoherence) tells for a New Screen beach, a campground and Blackman's estate. Although James Pincoff's ingenious set combines them all, the concentrated focus brought to bear on the staging only emphasizes its vacuity. But the real tragedy of *The Art of War* is that its potential pleasures are smothered by insufferable cynicism. Walker has become so determined to have the last laugh that he is a mortal danger of losing the first.

—MARK CLEGG

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EL CURADOR
Don Cherry and Ed Blackwell
(A/C/M/W/GA)

Transporter Don Cherry, saxophonist Donny Redman and drummer Ed Blackwell form three-fourths of the group OM and New Dreams—the surprisingly powerful and successful reconstruction of Ornette Coleman's epochal 1980s quartet. The two personal narratives show the strong polarity between Redman's driving exuberance and Cherry's less-in-more introspection. Redman delights in the opportunity to lead a rambunctious quartet, ranging through a Mass (Pure Over Rhyth), crossing a ballad (Love It) and riding through bits of hard bop. Redman brings his own home with Charles Parker's *Donny's Donny*. Nothing as *The Struggle Continues* suggests a player of genius, but the pleasure and force of the band is palpable.

Don Cherry is a major league transporter who performs minimalist, sometimes very simple, forms. Essentially a set of brief solos on instruments ranging from his usual pocket trumpet to a piano, El Curador is contrasted with stunning elegance. Blackwell provides several subtle drum solos as well as a firm base for Cherry's improvisations. The cry scale of the arrangements is always warm to offer intimacy, but the 12 compositions are so brief, varied and totally dilly that the album keeps an intellectual distance. It is one of those mysterious records best heard in the stillness of dawn.

—BART THOMAS



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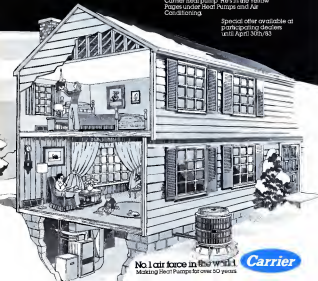
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New plugs for prescription drugs

The title on a recent press release from the Montreal-based pharmaceutical company Rho-Canada Inc. sounded ominous, *Influenza—The Last Great Plague*. Inside, however, the drug company indirectly offered itself a federally approved prescription drug manufactured by Rho, complete with an accompanying information kit and reports from such respected medical journals as the *New England Journal of Medicine* on clinical trials of the product. Rho's eye-catching drug information package is only one example of a new trend by drug companies to promote prescription drugs by heavily dispensing promotional material as informational packages with the hope of avoiding the advertising ban on prescription drugs in the nonmedical press. The technique gets results. Last month CMA's *The Journal* ran a documentary on influenza that mentioned the drug.

With down-to-earth pharmaceutical references run largely out of fashion, slick press kits and press conferences featuring well-known physicians aim to generate stories in the media which, in turn, create a demand by patients for new products. Some physicians are not amused, especially now that they are being contacted by doctors from patients for drugs at a time when the Food and Drug Administration is directed advertising of prescription drugs to doctors. Says Canadian Medical Association (CMA) spokesman Douglas Gieske: "If you hold a press conference on a new product and you invite members of the lay press, you are advertising—I don't know where you draw the line."

But because the companies carefully tread the fine line between advertising and treating information on new drugs as a news development, officials are powerless to stop the new trend. "There is nothing illegal about it," says Dr. Ian Henderson, director of the bureau of drugs at the health and welfare department. Adds Guy Benichou, president of the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers' Association of Canada, a voluntary organization of 68 drug firms: "We cannot deny information from the public, and it would be foolish and inappropriate to try."

The public relations firm that developed the influenza kit for Rho and sent the package to 100 media outlets across Canada was Benson-Winsteller, with offices in Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver. Michael Horlan, senior vice-president for the firm, argues that the kit, which offered basic information



Gieske: "If you hold a press conference on a new drug, you're advertising."

on the viruses that cause the illness, was not promotional but rather an exercise in good corporate citizenship. "Rho would see itself as an authority on flu," he means.

Last May, Rho-Canada Co. launched its new arthritis drug, Glaflex, at a press conference in the United States, where direct prescription drug advertising also is prohibited. The approach helped to convince the media that the new drug was a new development in the fight against arthritis, and more than 500 newspapers and several national radio and TV stations carried the story. As a result, prescription orders for the new drug—approved by the U.S. government—climbed to 25,000 from 2,000 a week, generating a stock price of \$1 million a week in new revenue for the company. Later in May, medical reports printed in the U.K.'s *British Medical Journal* revealed that 12 people who had taken the drug had died. Lilly took it off the market on Aug. 4, although there was no proof that the drug had caused the deaths.

Health and Welfare's Henderson says that he has been receiving complaints from physicians whose patients clamor for new drugs even before doctors know about them. "Many day I get five or six calls from physicians who have been assessed by patients who have heard something on the radio or read something in the press about a new

drug for arthritis or for heart ailments," says Henderson. "The media were getting the press kits," he adds, "but the physicians were not."

The CMA has another concern: some of the information packages feature endorsements by renowned physicians that lead credulity to the drug in question. For example, Dr. Leonard Mandell, head of the division of infectious diseases at McMaster University in Hamilton, Ont., and Dr. Richard Morneau, chief of microbiology and infectious diseases at Montreal's Hôtel Dieu Hospital, figured prominently in Rho's influenza kit. Although Mandell says he was "initially surprised and a little upset" when he saw his high-profile role in the package, he sees no conflict of interest. Morneau agrees: "If it's a good drug, I have to say it."

Indeed, as the campaigns gain legitimacy and frequency, Health and Welfare Canada has decided to allow administrative procedures to enable physicians to receive information on new drugs as soon as they have been federally approved. For its part, Health and Welfare Canada is watching the trend closely. "We are encouraging physicians through the CMA to monitor these press conferences," says Henderson. But he has no doubts that the trend will last. "I think it is going to stay as a phenomenon of the 1980s."

—DAVE BELLAMY in Toronto

Protecting innocence

In Calgary last month 16-year-old B.C. runaway Patrick Cuthill was found bludgeoned to death with a hammer. In Toronto the body of nine-year-old Sharie Koenig was discovered in a rooming house refrigerator in February after she was strangled and raped. And in British Columbia's Lower

Mainland police have finally called off the search for 14-year-old Joanne Pedersen, who was last seen talking to a man outside a Sardo's, B.C. country store. Thugs and other recent brutal crimes and disappearances have caused alarmed citizens to mobilize in communities across Canada and the United



Poltano's protégée, sister children

States. The aim is to help children to defend themselves against would-be attackers and to cope rationally with such dangerous situations as being lost.

The counterattack on molesters begins with the idea that a knowledgeable child is a safer child. Parents have realized that the old rule of "Don't talk to strangers" is not enough to avert a tragedy. Not surprisingly, the leader in crime prevention programs for children is New York City. The city's pioneering Safety and Fitness Exchange (SAFE) is designed for children from 14 months to 10 years of age. In a series of 24 sessions participants are given attention-span training as well as tips on how to raise a fuss when approached by an adult they fear may harm them. In Canada community groups like Book Parents have teamed up with police officers to determine how to "street-smart" youngsters. Parents who want to turn children with a sense of fight, as well as flight, are sending children as young as five to criminal-style martial arts classes. In another attempt to make children self-sufficient, Vancouver Island schoolteacher Colleen Poltano is teaching wilderness survival skills to five- and six-year-olds, including those in her Book's B.C. kindergarten class. Poltano, who has just received a \$5,500 grant from the Canadian Teachers' Federation to expand the program, which she started in 1978, takes pupils into the bush and teaches them such things as how to keep warm by covering themselves with leaves and branches. In all the programs, however, the aim is the same. Says Poltano: "Kids meet up with a lot of threatening situations. They need to be able to think and solve problems."

Children's ability to make a clear judgment about their own safety is

most important in the problem of sexual abuse. "Seventy-five per cent of the victims know their abuser," explains David Finkelhor, assistant director of the University of New Hampshire's Family Violence Research Center and author of *Resistant Witnessed Children*. "A third are abused by their parents," he says. And, according to a study by Finkelhor, one in five girls and one in 19 boys will be sexually molested before the age of 18.

Green Thumb Theatre For Young People, in Vancouver, together with a Vancouver parents' group called MACTY (Taking Responsible Action for Children and Youth), has initiated the most novel method of informing children that they do not need to accept sexual bullying by friends or family members. Since last spring the troupe has presented a federally funded production on sexual abuse throughout the Vancouver public school system. Children are encouraged to recognize and value "yes" and "no" responses to various skits illustrating both normal family affection and abnormal abuse.

In one scene a lecherous man places his hand on the buttocks of an actress playing a young girl. "Tell him no!" the children in the audience shout, and "She's getting the 'no' feeling!" By the end of the play children are singing such lyrics as *My body's nobody's body but mine/You run your own body, let me run mine*. They are also taught three basic rules, one of which is: If you with this person, will someone I know and trust know where I am? The presentation ends at the end of a series of meetings conducted among members of Green Thumb, teachers and parents (who must sign a permission slip for their children to view the show). Professionals and children alike considered the play a success.

The Actors' Workshop in Winnipeg is trying to launch a spin-off of the Green Thumb program, while another play will be making the rounds of schools in Toronto, starting next month. *Evilized Mission* from 1968 (body spelled backward), the Toronto group's latest is "a game of touch," says project director Catherine Stewart, and will be followed by discussions with parents and teachers.

In educating children about the vast range of threats that await them, parents may, at the same time, run the risk of traumatizing them. The key, according to specialists, is to balance negative situations with positive ones. "We very specifically ensure that there is music and humor to make sure children don't get scared off adults or touch," says Stewart. "We have always told children to trust their feelings."

—JOHN FAUSTMANN is Vancouver, with Ann Weinberg in Toronto.



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Petier in 1977: a quest for a fair trial in the face of bureaucratic mal

BOOKS

A bitter historic legacy

IN THE SPIRIT OF CRAZY HORSE

By Peter Mathiasen
(Harcourt, \$75 paper, 328 pp.)

On a major June evening in 1975, two FBI agents drove onto a stretch of Indian land in South Dakota, apparently in search of a young man who had stolen a pair of cowboy boots from a drinking buddy. By the end of the day, the two agents and one Indian had been shot dead. In the aftermath, the shyness had devastating consequences on the reservation, including several mysterious deaths. Indian activist Leonard Peltier, who has consistently maintained his innocence, was convicted of murdering both agents and sentenced to two consecutive life terms. In his startling book, *Peter Mathiasen* unravels the apparently senseless chain of events and places the episode in the broader context of the poisoned relationship between Indians and the U.S. government.

In the spirit of Crazy Horse passionately dissects the events of that hot June day and its bitter consequences. Mathiasen openly believes that Peltier is innocent, but he insists that the more important issue "not only to Peltier but to all Indians (and all Americans) is that this man receive a fair trial in the U.S. courts." Because the case against Peltier was largely circumstantial, Mathiasen suggests that the FBI put together a makeshift case against him by twisting some evidence, suppressing other facts, and threatening and bribing witnesses. The argu-

ment is bolstered by some of the hundreds of documents recently released under Freedom of Information legislation, including one FBI memo in which agents write about their attempt to "look" Peltier into the evidence. The FBI's work on the case, argues Mathiasen, is "a movement to bureaucratic mal, but does not show that 'Peltier shot the agents,' what it shows is how much effort was devoted to constructing a case in support of a preconceived idea of one man's guilt." That preconceived idea, Mathiasen contends, may well have sprung from the FBI's desire to pin the blame on virtually any susceptible Indian activist.

Mathiasen clearly has a deep respect for Indian culture, with its prideful past and love of the land. He traces the history of the brave Lakota warriors who, under the leadership of Crazy Horse, inflicted a stunning defeat on the U.S. army in 1876. But the writer says that in the past century the U.S. government, through a series of actions in contravention of treaties, has reduced the once-proud natives to a state of impoverished dependence.

In the interest of shaking Indians out of that pathetic state, the activists formed the American Indian Movement (AIM) in the mid-1960s. But Mathiasen suggests that the resurgence of "the spirit of Crazy Horse" among Indians alarmed the U.S. government, which had traditionally encouraged Indians to be passive. Mathiasen captures well the sharp distinction between the "good," docile Indians favored by the

government and the "bad" descendants of Crazy Horse who wanted their land returned. Even the huge payments in land settlements made in the 1960s to Indian tribes were anathema to those proud people who wanted land, not money. The chief beneficiaries of the costly lawsuits were often Washington law firms, not the Indians.

AIM had the effect of reviving the Crazy Horse spirit, just at a time when government and business were becoming increasingly aware that the vast stretches of land which the Indians wanted back were sitting as huge energy resources. Much of the government's hostility toward AIM, Mathiasen writes, may have been because AIM had "placed itself directly in the path of the huge energy consortiums that were already moving quietly into the [Black] Hills."

Mathiasen avoids drawing any firm conclusion that there was a conspiracy to frame Peltier because of his AIM activities. But he speculates that it may well be the case. Why else, he asks, did the FBI clearly ignore or play down other, much stronger, and more suspect several more likely suspects? In laying out the details of what the FBI did and did not do, he has created a surprisingly gripping murder mystery. More important, if his suspicions are accurate, the account is a striking indictment of U.S. authorities, not only for trying to frame a suspect, but for attempting to still the spirit of Crazy Horse.

—LEONA McQUARR

MACLEAN'S BEST-SELLER LIST

Fiction

- 1 *Master of the Game*, Sheldon (2)
- 2 *Spies*, Wheeler (2)
- 3 *Foundations of Eden*, Jensen (2)
- 4 *2010 Odyssey Two*, Clarke (2)
- 5 *The Little Drummer Girl*, Ismail (2)
- 6 *Flamingo*, Bennett (2)
- 7 *Deliver Us from Evil*, King (2)
- 8 *Mystical Mountain*, Korman (2)
- 9 *The Moon of Jupiter*, Moore (2)
- 10 *The Prophet*, Boudreau (2)

Nonfiction

- 1 *The F. Plan Diet*, Fagan (2)
- 2 *John Fonda's Workout Book*, Fonda (2)
- 3 *Grave: An Intimate Portrait of the Liberal Party*, McGowan (2)
- 4 *The Establishment Man: A Portrait of Power*, Scherer (2)
- 5 *In Search of Excellence*, Peters and Waterman Jr. (2)
- 6 *Why We Act Like Canadians*, Scherer (2)
- 7 *Magnum*, Nyquist (2)
- 8 *The Governor's Appointments*, Platter (2)
- 9 *Wanted in Connecticut*, Platter (2)
- 10 *Town of Gold, Fort of Clay*, Stewart (2)

(1) Positions last week

Yes

"...I am a supporter of lost causes, and one of them, I'm afraid, is my own detestable, loathsome, despicable pipe collection."

No

"...the newsroom, in fall puff, can be an asphyxiating experience. It's a terrible burden being the anti-smoking nag. But someone has to do it."



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**A barren life,
a barren future**

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[illegible]

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MURDER IN THE DARK
By Margaret Atwood
Cough House Press, 64 pages, \$8.95

Most of the incidents here involve tricks, played by children, the writer or memory itself. In one short piece the narrator remembers a certain patch of strawberries as blue, not red. "It was the best that made things like that happen, I went into the woe-ordained because I did not want to talk to you or even see you." And instead of an angry rant, the writer tells us that he has never been able to tell during that time, though not for the whole hour, if he forgot what things were called and how instead what things are. "In another story the writer's effort to remember a high school date conjures up instead an image, in perfect detail, of the pink dress the woe walked with the boyfriend, he having realized instantly on the periphery of her memory. These fragments suggest that memory, like fiction, is a discourse that can tell

In the title place the author compares a justice game called Murder in the Dark to the process of writing fiction. "By the rules of the game I must always win," she writes. "The analogy between the two systems is not perfect, but it is surprising how often I find myself in the same position as always lurking in Arvedson's shadow. I feel some of ambivalence about the tactic, though in 'Raw Materials,' a story about their visit to the caves and 'small, dark spaces' of Mexican ruins turned up in narrow, damp corridors. I feel that I have been watching the murder with thoughts and fears they had not bargained for. More technical, and at the same time more intimate than her longer fiction, the precise requirements ask questions that she then obliquely answers in small, haunting sentences that plot the story in the century remains." —MARI JACKSON



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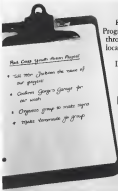
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The country cousin takes a bow

By Gillian MacKay

Folk art in the country cousin of the visual arts, as fresh-faced and endearing as its sophisticated relatives can be forbidding. In an age when mainstream modern art has grown demanding and is less often obscure and explicit, folk art has no inhibitions (this the aged one of delighting the eye. This spirit shines through *From the Heart: Folk Art in Canada*, a survey showing of almost 300 works from the collecting of the National Museum of Man which opened at the Glenbow Museum in Calgary last week. As the exhibition tours the country over the next three years, it will introduce Canadians to long-forgotten carriers of better tastes, to sculptors of weather vases and, above all, to a vibrant but little-known group of contemporary folk artists who are carrying on the tradition in a witty and effectively modern vein.

While most of the artists are self-taught rural dwellers, the best are more than mere amateurs messing about in their workshops. They possess an originality and force of expression that elevates them far above the level of amateurs. Indeed, the finest folk art lends credence to the view that a pure creative energy thrives in the hinterland, unaffected by the sterile sophistication of urban culture.

If that energy pervades *From the Heart*, however, it is absent in spite of the exhibition itself. Initially, the show's lack of thematic focus, erratic shifts in quality and poor presentation are off-putting. The curators at the Museum of Man, in their attempt to avoid the most reprehensible exhibit ever, have cast their net too wide: the result is a sprawling clutter of roaring fairs, walking bears, tobacco cutters, coat racks, sugar moulds and embroidered handkerchiefs, in addition to pottery and sculpture. The failure to distinguish between historic artifacts and works of art creates further confusion. A cabinet devoted to decoy ducks adorns a roster by Collins Kienkauer,

but the bird's swaggering stance and endearing song of toll for them give it as artistic presence quite removed from the world of the decorative, expressionless decoy. Nor is there either merit in every object. A drab 18th-century



Marriage Quilt (1925): an endearing aim to delight the eye

wooden chest, touted as an example of Polish immigrant sewing, is only of limited antiquarian interest. Finally, the fact that groups of unrelated objects are crammed together into curatorial showcases seriously interferes with an appreciation of the works. A splendid selection of antique weather vanes is mounted so low as to cause visitors to peer down at them—as if, inquisitive to works designed to crown the rooftops of the country.

Although the exhibition seems at times like a garage-sale tour through the kitchen to find the treasures, the search is so rewarding that the visitors' eyes are quickly overcome. In some cases, the organizers have enriched the experience further by supplying bits of the artists' personal history. A beautiful 18th-century quilt, elegantly embroidered with tiny floral flowers, birds

and horseback riders, was made by 14-year-old Mary Morris for her hope chest. But the accompanying description reveals that she never married, probably because she was born with a club foot, and thus the quilt remained unused. In 1876 a 75-year-old New Brunswick woodman, Alfred Monroval, carved a doll and wood sprays of an old-fashioned Madawaska hunter camp, complete with cook, carpenters and a hunter. He once explained, "It is a mission that I have to teach upcoming generations about the way of life of their ancestors." An enormous, ingeniously crafted diptych with circles and spots was one of many exotic animals and figures sculpted in wood and plaster by Alerte Saint-Germain, a retired Quebecois, to decorate the front lawn of his Sainte-Anne-de-la-Beauvoir home. Some of the creations could be salvaged from inside the house to wave at passers-by, in order, he said, "to make them laugh."

In the century that separates Mary Morris from Alerte Saint-Germain, the definitions for making folk art have undergone a transformation. Indeed, some critics have dismissed that there is no more folk art, because there are so many folk. Supposedly, the trend is reversing in the United States, largely due to commercialism in which their art once flourished are swallowed up by elites and by the homogenizing tendency of modern life. But the wealth of contemporary work retained in *From the Heart* suggests that folk art is not such a fragile flower. Yes, many of the contemporary artists in the show are elderly, but it is common for folk artists to blossom in their retirement years. As the catalogue indicates, they have adapted to modernity instead of being crushed by it.

Although these artists live in rural communities and draw heavily on a love of nature in their work, they are not sheltered from the world. In fact, images gleaned from radio, television and even fast-food outlets—the supposed enemy of all that is precious and individual—creep up regularly in the exhibition. For example, Kienkauer has



Fiddler (1976); Rooster (1975): carrying on the folk-art tradition in a witty and effectively modern vein

carved an elegantly shinned-down Col. Sanders Sam Spenser, who listened to hockey games on the radio in the heyday of the Toronto Maple Leafs, created a lively wooden plaque around a central figure of a Lord piker. Oscar Hien's wall wood carving of a young, barbed-wire mother was inspired by a morning exercise program on TV.

As certain traditional functions of folk art, such as embellishing utilitarian objects, have disappeared because of the mass production of household goods, it appears that the creative impulse has been increasingly channelled into works of whimsy and pure aesthetic intent. The pinnacle of fantasy is a small-scale cabinet-sized mass box with 38 moving figures created by the late Alphonse Groux, who once described himself as a poor but happy Quebec farmer with "a good wife" and 15 chil-

dren. The box's three levels depict dancing revellers, a gay scene of 1660 (including a naked Whore of Babylon with rising breasts), plus an old-fashioned scene of harvesting and the spacing of his Ores, which someone suggested that he parent his creation. Groux laughed and said that only "a madman like me" could duplicate the work. Other fanciful works include Neelpha Petrow's handmade violin adorned with a carved lion's head, Gilbert Plana's wind-driven whirling in which a bull chain a man and Oswald Benet's stone Buddha, a monkey carrying two suitcases reading *WE ARE ON TIME*.

The finest pieces in the show are by artists who transposed whimsy and shyness to produce objectively satisfying objects in their own right. The most accomplished group of works is by Kienkauer, an 86-year-old Nova Scotian who only began to carve seriously in 1964. From small, exotic works like *Leda* and the *Swan* to the full-sized, exquisitely posed *Phidias*, his work consistently displays a subtle wit and distinctive character. Benet's magnificent *Turkey*, fashioned from painted iron bars and hinges, and *Phidias* Benet's painfully stylized figures of Adam and Eve are equally distinguished.

Americans have long revered their heritage, even enshrining it in the Museum of American Folk Art in New York City. Canadians have been slower to pay attention. However, interest has been slowly growing over the past two decades as curators, collectors and gallery owners have scoured fairs, communities and fishing villages for hidden gold. As it works across the country, *From the Heart* will bring that abundant wisdom to light as never before. ☐

You cannot turn back the clock

By Allan Fotheringham

There are, when you get right down to it, only two candidates for the leadership of the Progressive Conservative party (and the next prime minister of Canada). When you really think about it, there are only two men who have a serious chance—and only two who deserve a serious chance—to come out on top in the Ottawa ice rink on June 12. They are Joe Clark and Brian Mulroney. When the Tories come down to the wire and are actually forced to think, forced to comprehend the gravity of their choice and what it means for the country, they will come to the same conclusion: It would be political suicide, political insanity, to choose anyone who cannot converse easily in both of this land's two official languages. When you get right down to it, only two candidates—one by luck of birth, one by perseverance—are qualified to become the next leader and the next prime minister.

It still comes as a bit of a shock to recall that Lester Pearson, raised to world diplomacy, at one in its circles, a Nobel Prize winner, was fashionably untalented. How and why he never picked up French on his way to becoming prime minister (Canada is a country that Pearson realized the new table. He made it clear to intimates that he was unapologetically the last Canadian prime minister who would not be able to speak in both languages. He was correct. The efforts of the Faculty of Pierre Elliott Trudeau in vain with the may gift to tell people to do the physically impossible to themselves in either language) and the stubbornness of Joe Clark have undermined Pearson's prediction. We cannot go backward, and the Tories, bless their pained little heads, will never to their realization when they make their choice.

We have really come too far in this country to go backward. We have come too far in keeping together a country that is very hard to keep together. MacKenzie King was correct in saying that the problem was that we have too much geography and not enough history. We

have stumbled through for 118 years, imitating the British gift for meddling through to the exasperation of the precise French. Even the terminally suicidal Conservatives, bent on self-destruction, will think upon that fact once the hot lights of the cameras and the hot pens of the scribblers are concentrated on them in their mid-June agony.

Joe Clark has his weaknesses (30.1 per cent of his own party can detail them for you if you have two hours) but in a sense he has reduced this to a two-man race because of his perception, from long back, of what sort of country

he is, from a man much given to irony in his personal life, is one of the more clearly held secrets of our time: while Clark is thought of as a green "led," he is still older than Mulroney.)

Clark, early in this fire dance, has been almost wily in asserting that he is better qualified to be leader than the early challengers. Without saying so, he is saying how dare a David Cronkite or a Michael Wilson or a John Crosbie or whoever (not even to mention such functional secretaries as John Gaudin and Peter Pocklington) purport to be the leader of a national party when they have never gone to the bother of equipping themselves for the task.

Equipping oneself for the task of becoming a prime minister in Canada means doing the ongoing work to teach oneself French. You can no more be qualified to lead a country than in one quarter francophone without competency in French than you could be qualified to lead a country that was one-quarter black and refuse to address that portion of the population. Clark is confident that the party will see that simple fact in Ottawa. It's why provincial premiers, from George Drew to John

Bracken to Robert Stanfield, have been such persistent failures at the national scene in Ottawa. A man raised on a general mission, with regional values, looks smaller once in the Ottawa spotlight. It's why Peter Lougheed has shed away and why Bill Davis is extremely reluctant to teach Joe Clark, a man he does not respect. It's why Crosbie and Wilson look so, well, Frenchish in the light of their challenges. Joe started young and grasped the essential fact that, if you want to be on the national scene, you have to speak national, and you cannot do that if you cannot operate, at least with some facility, in the other language of the country.

The days of Balfour's French are gone. The Quebec media, as fiercely Québécois as the air grade of the province, will be merciless in their questioning. In French of any candidate who dares enter that domain. The only two self-confident entries in this race are Clark and Mulroney. They are the only two who have any right to be so



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